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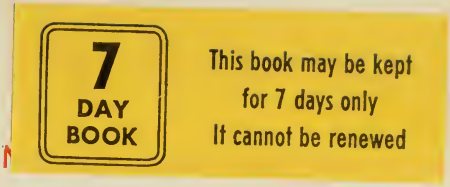

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The Osorno Venture

Joseph P. O'Neill, S.J.

The foundation of the first American Jesuit community on the South American continent is, in many ways, an historic event. The Maryland Jesuits are the first of what promises to become a great migration of North American Jesuits to South America. But despite being first, three years here is too short a time to make a great deal of history. Here we present not so much a list of achievements as an effort to give some idea of what this venture is like, the land and its people, the inheritance from the past, the present problems and future plans.

I. THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

A Bird's-Eye View

The heartland of Chile is a long, relatively narrow valley bounded by the towering Andes to the east and the coastal range to the west. At the head of this valley stands the capital, Santiago, a modern city of two million people. Almost at the end of the valley, six hundred miles to the south, lies Osorno. Although it has a population of only sixty thousand, it too can boast of being a modern city.

As an economic center Osorno has been doubly blessed. It sits in the center of one of the most beautiful lake regions in the world and its farms are among the richest in Chile. So money comes in from the tourist trade during the summer and all the year round from the sale of beef and dairy products.

The city itself lies in a great hollow. An irregular series of low but abrupt cliffs hem it in from all sides except the southeast. It is as though Osorno were sitting in a giant soup bowl from which a good-sized chip had been knocked out. The natural growth of the city is toward the southeast and in this area a site was chosen to build a new school.

Religious and Racial Background

Though a large percentage of the people of Osorno is of European stock, there is some mixture of Indian blood. There are, however, few of pure Indian blood, though among the poor in the city and among farm workers, Indian characteristics appear with great frequency.

At San Mateo, as you might expect, Spanish names like Gonzalez, Angulo, Garcia and Vasquez predominate. Surprisingly enough, of the 300 boys in the school more than a hundred have German names, twenty or so are Syrians and there is a sprinkling of French, English and Italian names. The roll call becomes a very cosmopolitan affair with Caesar Gomez, Dennis Smith, Elias Ayub and Otto Stolzenbach sitting side by side.

The German influence is very strong in the southern provinces of Chile because they were the first, in modern times, to colonize the area. Many of the first settlers from Germany were refugees from the revolutions of 1848. But the migration they started has continued to the present day. To a great extent the Germans of Osorno have preserved their language and customs. Even those born in Chile frequently have a German accent when they speak Spanish. It is not unusual in the banks and the large stores in the center of town to hear more German spoken than Spanish. In fact, in some businesses a speaking knowledge of German is a basic requirement.

Being an industrious and thrifty people, the Germans have the largest and best-kept farms in the area and are by far the wealthiest group in Osorno. Though greatly outnumbered by those of Spanish descent, their wealth and education have brought them social prestige and political power. It is not unusual for the governor of the province to have a name like Scholz or Shilling and the mayor, a name like Follert or Hott.

The Germans who settled the province of Osorno were mostly Lutherans but their positive influence on the religious life of Osorno has been small since they have little interest in contacting non-Germans. The Catholics among them settled more to the south where German Jesuits founded a number of parishes and a high school in Puerto Montt. The Chilean Jesuits now administer most of these works.

Despite the fact that the Lutherans had small interest in making converts, they have had a negative influence on the prestige of the Church, and Osorno has never been considered a very Catholic city. All too often Catholics here have had an inferiority complex about their faith because they have never had much social or political influence. Catholicism is considered the religion of the poor and of the Indian by the Germans and they tend to look down on popular religious manifestations like processions which are so dear to the heart of the Chilean poor.

But this situation began to change for the better seven years ago. The turning point was the erection of Osorno as a diocese in 1955 and the appointment of Monseñor Francisco Valdés, a Capuchin friar, as its first bishop. Since that time the bishop has become the rallying point for a host of new organizations and activities. The Christian Family Movement was started among young Catholic couples. Catholic business and professional men formed a fraternal society called "Amicat" (*Amigos Catolicos*) to promote a more vigorous Catholic life among their members. Finally Bishop Valdés was able to get American Jesuits to run a school that would compete with the German and French schools in quality of instruction and social prestige.

But the picture, though improving, is still far from bright. Religious instruction is still very weak. San Mateo is the only Catholic boys' school in a radius of 80 miles. The Sisters of Christian Charity have a fine girls' school in town. But besides these there are no other Catholic high schools and only four other Catholic grade schools in the city.

To attend the spiritual needs of the 138,000 souls in the diocese there are only 35 priests. Of these, three belong to the diocese. Vocations are few. At the present moment there are only two priests in the diocese who were born in Osorno. Most of the rest are foreign-born: Americans (9), Dutch (9), Germans (5), Argentineans (3), Belgians (2).

The reception of the Society by the clergy was very warm. The American Precious Blood Fathers, who have three parishes in towns south of Osorno, were very helpful with advice about the practical necessities of life. Fr. José Doemkes, S.V.D., the superior of the Divine Word Fathers in Osorno,

gave invaluable help in the first few months. He acted as counselor, interpreter, and Spanish teacher when such help was most needed.

Economic and Social Status

In their economic status the majority of the boys do not present a very wide spread. There are one or two of the very poor and one or two of the fairly rich. The majority come from what in the States we would call the lower-middle and middle-middle classes.

Of the 252 families from which the students come, one hundred and six fathers are salaried white-collar or service workers; fifty-two have their own small businesses; forty-six are farmers; seventeen are independent truck owner-drivers who engage in contracting and hauling on a small scale. The rest are a scattering of doctors, dentists, lawyers, teachers, architects and soldiers.

The basic wage for white-collar workers is $67 a month. With fringe benefits, bonuses, and seniority, the average white-collar worker who has a son at San Mateo will earn between $35 and $45 a week. It is not uncommon for those in the professions and in business to have a small farm to supplement their income. While the cost-of-living is somewhat cheaper here than in the United States, most of the families who send their boys to San Mateo have to make sacrifices to pay the $80-a-year tuition. This is especially true of the fifty families who have more than one son in the school.

II. OUR INHERITANCE FROM THE PAST

The Old San Mateo

In 1963 Colegio San Mateo will celebrate its Golden Jubilee. But the celebration will be somewhat hollow for, in reality, little more than the name has survived the rigors of the first fifty years. As a school San Mateo has been chronically ill and more than once close to extinction. Both fire and earthquake have closed its doors and its intellectual development has had a great number of ups and downs.

In 1913, the year San Mateo first opened, Osorno was still a bit of a Wild West town, cut off for the most part from the

outside world. The railroad had not yet arrived and the nearest deep-water port was a hundred miles to the south. Supplies coming by sea had to be brought up sixty winding miles on the Rio Bueno. Then by wagon and ox-cart they were hauled another twenty miles to the town itself. Travel by land was difficult and not always safe from marauders.

Much of the province of Osorno was still Indian territory and though the coastal tribes had been subdued for a number of years, older residents could still remember when, some thirty years before, the Araucanians, in one last savage outburst, raided the town of Osorno and burned the Church of San Mateo.

Into this isolated outpost came a remarkable German priest, Fr. Walter Horsthemke, S.V.D. A man of profound culture, an accomplished musician and fluent in four modern languages, he was to be a dominant figure in the religious and civic life of Osorno for the next forty years.

In the fall of 1913 Fr. Horsthemke opened a little school for his parish, San Mateo. He himself taught the twenty-one first graders who showed up for class. During the next three years the school prospered so well that first humanities (7th grade) was started with thirteen students. At the end of its first decade San Mateo seemed to be firmly on its feet with a record enrollment of almost two-hundred boys. The number of boarders was quite satisfactory, though not reaching the high of seventy for 1921.

To the eye of the viewer some forty years after the fact, San Mateo seemed to be prospering and giving promise for future growth. But it was not to be so. Suddenly there came a series of surprising reverses which were to bury the school for almost ten years. In 1925, the boarding facilities were dropped. In 1926, the humanities (high school section) were suppressed. Finally on Ash Wednesday, 1927, a few days after school had opened, the Church of San Mateo and its school were completely destroyed by fire.

For the next nine years San Mateo remained closed while Fr. Horsthemke begged and borrowed enough money to rebuild the church and school. Gradually the money came in. First the church was built, a simple poured concrete construc-

tion. The school, a three storey wooden building, was finally completed in late 1935.

The new San Mateo that arose from the ashes of the old was no phoenix. When it opened again in 1936, the school had only fifty-three students in the first four grades. In 1939, first humanities was resumed with twenty-five students. In the decade 1940-49, there were on the average three grades of humanities (7th, 8th, 9th grades) and five elementary grades. The average total enrollment for the same period was two hundred sixty-three but only fifty-two of these were in the humanities.

The death of Fr. Horsthemke in 1950 marked the beginning of San Mateo's last decade under the Divine Word Fathers. Yet in the '50's, to all outward appearances, the school seemed to prosper and plans were made for new constructions. Boarding facilities were resumed in 1950. Enrollment began to go up steadily. In 1955 the humanities became tuition free and a kindergarten was begun with thirty-one children. 1957 was an *annus mirabilis*. For the first time in its history Colegio San Mateo had all six years of humanities. By this fact it was given special recognition (*notas reconocidas*) by the Ministry of Education. Enrollment reached a record four hundred thirty students and the number of boarders, fifty-four, was the highest in thirty years.

Yet at the end of 1957, the most successful year in San Mateo's history, Fr. José Doemkes, the Rector, informed Bishop Valdés that the Divine Word Fathers were giving up the school. They would teach one more year to give the Bishop time to find replacements. But at the end of 1958 they were leaving unconditionally. Lack of manpower was the reason for this decision. It seemed that once again the Colegio would be closed down.

Negotiations with the Maryland Province[1]

In the summer of 1958, during his *ad limina* visit to the Holy See, Bishop Valdés visited the Curia of the Society to talk with the Assistant for South America about getting

[1] The substance of this section is based on the report Fr. John Lenny, S.J. prepared after his visits to Osorno.

teachers for the only boys' school in his diocese. As the South American Assistant could offer no encouragement, he introduced the Bishop to Fr. Vincent McCormick, then American Assistant.

Fr. McCormick suggested that the Bishop stop off in Baltimore before going back to Chile because the Maryland Province might be interested in the work in Osorno. India, the Province mission, had been closed to foreign missionaries for some years. The recently opened seminary in Burma, while requiring a large initial outlay of men and resources, would not present a great manpower drain on the Province in the years to come.

With this encouragement from Rome, Bishop Valdés visited Baltimore to discuss the matter with the Provincial, Fr. William Maloney. The talks went well and the Bishop was promised that his offer would be fully considered.

To avoid committing the Province sight unseen to this work, Fr. Maloney sent Fr. John Lenny and Fr. William Driscoll down to Osorno to investigate the school and its possibilities. The two priests arrived in Osorno September 27, 1958 and stayed until the 29th. With the invaluable help of Fr. Doemkes, they examined the school from all angles. With Bishop Valdés they settled the basic points of the contract: 1) the Bishop would give the present school building for as long as it was wanted or needed, 2) He would give a site for a new school, 3) He would provide lodging until an appropriate residence was built.

On their return to Baltimore both Fr. Lenny and Fr. Driscoll gave favorable reports on the prospects in Osorno. On the basis of these reports it was decided to accept the work in Osnoro with the condition that the Maryland Province Jesuits would be independent of the Chilean Provincial and that the diocese of Osorno would be part of the Maryland Province. The matter was so settled by Very Reverend Father General in his decree of December 8, 1959.

By January, 1959 all but one of the major problems in taking on the work in Osorno had been settled. The remaining point was educational. What kind of a school should we run in Chile? Should we adopt the Chilean system of education or introduce our own? How free should we try to be from the

Chilean Ministry of Education? It was to report on these all-important matters that Fr. Lenny returned to Chile in January, 1959.

Arriving in Santiago on January 14, Fr. Lenny consulted Mr. Walter Howe, then United States Ambassador to Chile, and other top Embassy officials on the Chilean situation in general. Most enlightening were his consultations with the principals of the two high quality English-speaking schools in Santiago, Fr. Francis Provenzano, C.S.C. of St. George's and Mother M. Aileen, I.H.M. of Villa Maria Academy.

After his talks with the two principals, Fr. Lenny found himself faced with a dilemma—either accept the Chilean educational system with its rigid state control and unwieldy program of studies,[2] as they do at St. George's, or disregard the state program and its diploma completely and teach according to the American system as they do at Villa Maria. To follow St. George's would seem to cripple our educational efforts. To follow Villa Maria and be without the state diploma would make it extremely difficult, though not impossible, for graduates to enter the University or be employed by those state agencies that require a state diploma.

While pondering this problem and seeking a solution, Fr. Lenny visited the Jesuit-administered Catholic University of Valparaíso. There Fr. Jorge González, S.J., the Rector, and Fr. Raymond Barros, S.J., the Dean, suggested a *via tertia.* They informed Fr. Lenny of a new law on experimental schools by which the state would consider valid the marks given by a school whose experimental plan of studies was approved by the Ministry of Education.

Given this hope of breaking the educational impasse, Fr. Lenny prepared a brief outline of the system of education as practiced in the Maryland Province high schools. To this he added the modifications we would introduce to adapt to the Chilean situation. This outline was presented to the Minister of Education, Sr. Francisco Cereceda, on January 30.

At the end of his interview with Fr. Lenny, the Minister said he would go along with the program. But he suggested that a more complete and more specific presentation be pre-

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[2] Cf. *infra* for a more complete idea of the problem.

pared. For it was necessary that the program be reviewed by the technical office before final written approval could be given. It seemed at the time that chances were bright for state approval of the experimental plan. Later events were to darken the picture considerably.

Maryland Province Jesuits Take Charge of San Mateo

From the time of Fr. Lenny's return to Baltimore on February 19 until the following September only one important decision about the Osorno venture was made. This was the selection of the men for the work. During the first week of June, three priests and three scholastics received word that they were going to Osorno. Rev. John F. Henry, S.J., prefect of discipline at St. Joseph's Prep was named Rector. Rev. Henry Haske, S.J., who just completed Tertianship, was appointed Minister. Rev. Frank McG. Nugent, S.J., Minister at Wernersville, was appointed Spiritual Father. The three scholastics chosen were Mr. James McNamara, S.J., Mr. Joseph P. O'Neill, S.J., and Mr. Bernard Boyle, S.J.

After eight weeks of intensive Spanish at Georgetown University's Summer School, we began to get ready for the October 8th departure date. Fr. Henry, with Fr. Lenny as his consultor, had left for Osorno on September 8. Some points of the contract still had to be hammered out with the Bishop. All the furniture and cooking utensils had to be bought and the house prepared for our arrival.

The major communication from Fr. Henry during this time was to tell us to make sure to bring our overcoats and umbrellas. Winter in the Southern Hemisphere was not yet over and Osorno, with 187 days of rain a year, was one vast puddle.

The five of us arrived in Santiago the 12th of October and were met at the airport by Fr. Henry and Fr. Renato Poblete, a Chilean Jesuit who had studied at Woodstock. At the Jesuit high school in Santiago, where we stayed for the next few days, the Fathers went out of their way to make us feel at home. The first night at dinner the Provincial, Fr. Carlos Pomar, read a short speech in English, a language which he does not speak, to welcome us to Chile. Before leaving for

Osorno, we visited the Apostolic Nuncio and the American Ambassador, both of whom were most cordial and happy to hear we were going to work in the South.

The six of us arrived in Osorno on Saturday the 17th of October. The next morning at the nine o'clock Mass, the Bishop introduced us to the people. It was the feast of St. Luke and the text for the sermon was from the gospel of the day. *Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci. Rogate ergo dominum messis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam.*

That same morning we got our first good look at the school building which is almost directly behind the Cathedral. It was not an impressive sight. The school is a three storey wooden structure painted yellow with brown trim. It has thirteen fairly good-sized classrooms on the first and second floors. The entire third floor is given over to an auditorium. As we looked through the windows, the interior looked quite gloomy and in need of a good coat of paint.

The school year closes in December. So during the next few weeks we observed classes to find out who were the good teachers and what type of student we had in the school. With no previous experience in grade school education we were somewhat at a loss to determine how high the level of instruction was in the primary grades. But the boys did know some English and seemed, in general, to be on the level of a good grammar school in the States. The humanities section (7th grade to 4th year high school) was a different matter. We were not impressed with what we saw there. Since the Divine Word Fathers had left at the end of 1958, there was, naturally, a certain let-down during the *interregnum*. Only the first four of the regulation six classes of humanities were actually operating. A number of boys were cast-offs from the French and German schools. The marks in general were low and discipline lax.

Discipline, we soon found out, would be one of our major problems. These Chilean boys were open, generous, and intelligent but they were not strong on doing what they are told. Our problem would be compounded by the fact that with only a few months of Spanish behind us, our control of the language was something less than perfect.

After seeing the state of the school we were confronted

with the question whether we should continue with the school as it was or should drop some of the classes in the humanities. It was not an easy decision to make. If we dropped the boys, the only place that would take them was the public high school. There the attitude toward the Church runs from passive indifference to active hostility. Secondly, the move would certainly cause bad feeling against us from the boys and their families.

Despite these factors, the decision was made to drop all those who were then in the humanities. The following considerations tipped the scales. We did not come to Chile to run a second-rate school. With the little Spanish we knew, we were afraid we would not be able to take firm control of San Mateo if we started off with both the grade school and high school sections. The six of us would be spread too thin to raise the intellectual standards.

As we anticipated, a cry went up from the parents of the boys we dropped. Two meetings were held to discuss the matter. One, held by the Rector, in a hotel auditorium was open to all those interested in the "new" San Mateo. The other was a rump meeting conducted by the parents of the boys affected. Nothing ever came of the matter and soon the whole episode was forgotten.

The First School Year

After a summer (December through February) of painting the classrooms and sprucing up the grounds, Colegio San Mateo was opened under Jesuit auspices on March 15, 1960 with an enrollment of two hundred eighty boys, from the first to the seventh grades. The first grade with fifty-seven enrolled was split into two sections with Mr. McNamara and Mr. O'Neill teaching a half day of English in each section. Mr. O'Neill also taught a half day of English in the second grade. Mr. Boyle and Fr. Henry, the Rector, taught the third and fourth grades. Fr. Nugent and Mr. McNamara had classes in the fifth and sixth grades. Fr. Haske took charge of first humanities and the prefect of discipline's office.

The first weeks of school were hectic. Crying first graders had to be comforted and their mothers shooed away from the

windows. Boys were without books because orders placed in Santiago months before had not been filled. It seemed that those who had books did not have pencils and those who had pencils did not have paper. The patio in front of the school was an obstacle course because the work on a building we were tearing down had not yet been completed. When it rained, the hole left by the building formed a dandy wading pool. The boys were quick to use it.

Inside the classroom mutual lack of comprehension was the order of the day. Because of our faulty Spanish, the boys found it difficult to understand us. We found it no less difficult to catch their fast and colloquial Spanish. A 45-minute class became a torture. No matter how much you prepared, it seemed as if you invariably ran through it all in the first fifteen minutes. The remaining half hour became a battle of wits trying to keep the boys' attention and making sure that bedlam did not break loose.

At first discipline was difficult to maintain because we were deprived of the teacher's prime weapon, his tongue. What were the right words in Spanish to reprimand a boy? What did grade-school boys admire and what did they fear? We were not quite sure. So all of us began carrying big sticks into the classroom. When things got a little noisy, down slammed the stick on the nearest desk. For a few minutes at least, order would be restored. By the end of the year half a dozen desks and every blackboard pointer in the school were casualities in this classroom warfare.

Despite the fact that San Mateo started class fifteen minutes later than any school in town, it was not rare in the first few weeks for twenty or thirty boys to be late for class. There was only one solution, that venerable Jesuit institution, Jug. First and second graders were exempt because they did not know how to write. But anyone else in the school was liable to find himself in the *gran sala a las 4*. Jug has made an impression not only on our boys but on their parents as well. So much so that Fr. Haske's gesture of four fingers flung into the air (to signify 4 P.M.) is becoming a universal sign of "You're going to catch it."

But we did not have it all our own way. The boys got their licks in, too. Sensing our inexperience, they were not slow in

trying to take advantage of us. One common trick was to ask permission a couple of times during a class to go to the bathroom. Since, in the beginning, the capacity of a third or fourth grader was to us an unknown quantity, we let them go for fear of further consequences. Only later talking with the Sisters from Villa Maria did we realize how often we had been taken.

Looking back on them, these experiences seem rather funny. But at the time the constant fight to keep discipline and the tremendous effort required to make oneself understood made teaching an exhausting, unrewarding grind. All of us had heavy schedules, and they were to become even heavier when in April, a month after school began, Fr. Haske came down with a severe case of infectious hepatitis. By the middle of May we were ready for a good long rest but none was in sight.

The Earthquake

A vacation did come, though. We had not counted on Mother Nature who had a grim sort of holiday prepared for us. On Sunday May 22, 1960, a major earthquake shook the southern provinces of Chile killing more than a thousand people and destroying a hundred million dollars worth of property.

It had started out as a quiet Sunday afternoon in Osorno. In the rec room after lunch we talked about the earthquake that the day before had hit Concepción, a city three hundred miles to the north. It was suggested that we cable to the States saying that we were all right. But after a little discussion no one felt that it was necessary. By three o'clock the pinochle deck had been put away and everything was quiet. Then at 3:10 a sharp shock hit the house like a fist against a cardboard box. Overhead lights swung crazily and a floor lamp fell over. Nothing else. Those who were taking a siesta just rolled over again. Shocks like these had been coming all day as an aftermath of the quake in the North.

Four minutes later the house began to shake violently. Lamp fixtures and book cases came crashing down. It became almost impossible to walk. Fr. Henry lost his footing and fell coming down the stairs. Once outside we huddled in a little

patio as the four big chimney pots rolled off the roof and came crashing down within ten feet of us. Part of our cement fire wall collapsed and huge chunks fell into the patio. All the while the ground beneath our feet was rolling like the deck of a ship and a tremendous sound roared in our ears, the shriek of metal against cement and the shrill protest of twisting wood multiplied a thousand times by the city around us. It was a scene from the Apocalypse.

Five minutes later it was all over. Though badly shaken, none of us was hurt. Fr. Haske and Fr. Nugent went immediately to the hospital to attend to the injured and dying. Fr. Henry checked with the Cathedral parish to see if they needed his help and then looked the school over. It had withstood the force of the earthquake rather nicely. One classroom was badly damaged and a rain shelter had collapsed. Otherwise all was well.

The next two nights we slept out in the open for fear that strong aftershocks might collapse our already damaged house. Water and electricity were out for a week but gradually life came back to normal. Within ten days we were ready to resume classes. But only a few of the boys showed up. Parents were still afraid to let their children out of sight. Finally three weeks after the quake, on June 6, we went back to class. We had had our good long rest.

The effects of the quake continued to touch our lives, but in a much more pleasant way. From our families and friends and from our brother Jesuits came financial aid and thirty-five tons of food and clothing for the earthquake victims of the South. It was a staggering amount of material and it created a tremendous impression of the generosity and fraternal charity of American Catholics.

III. PRESENT PROBLEMS AND FUTURE PLANS

After the earthquake and tremors were over, the remaining months of the school year passed by rather tranquilly. We had the small successes and small failures common to any school whether in Chile or America. Gradually our Spanish began to improve and our hold on the boys became more secure. Little by little we began to feel at home in Osorno and at one with its people. Our adaptation to the Chilean scene

did not, however, solve all our difficulties. From the beginning three major problems were to dog our efforts: 1) Where to get English teachers, preferably religious, to take over the grade school; 2) How to secure approval for the experimental plan of studies; 3) The effort to build a new school, with all the difficulties of negotiation and planning that it involves.

The Search for Teachers

It was evident from the beginning that we could not for long continue to teach in the grade school. Each year, as a new class of humanities was added, less and less of our time would be available for teaching in the lower grades. Yet San Mateo's success and popularity are based on the fact that the lower grades are taught to a great extent in English. Where, then, to get English teachers to take our place?

Our first thought was to see if we could get the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary from Philadelphia, who conduct Villa Maria Academy, the finest girls' school in Santiago. Through the good offices of Mother Aileen, who has been extraordinarily generous both in her kind hospitality and shrewd advice, contact was made with their Mother General. While we were waiting for an answer from Villa Maria, approaches were made to the Maryknoll Sisters who were working in Chile and, through Fr. Nugent, to the Sisters of Mercy. Meanwhile in Baltimore, Fr. Driscoll was contacting other religious congregations.

One by one the rejections came in. Mother Mary Coleman, Mother General of the Maryknoll Sisters, visited Osorno on November 26, 1959 and showed interest in our work but she had no sisters to spare. In February, 1960 Fr. Henry went to Santiago to talk with the Mother General of the Immaculate Heart Sisters. Again sympathy was expressed but no chance of obtaining sisters. In Baltimore, too, results were nil. So Fr. Henry resorted to a simple plan of attack. He got out the Catholic Directory and began to write to every Mother General of a teaching order in the United States. It was a long, tedious job and results at first were quite discouraging. Each month the replies came back. They were a study in how to say No, gently but firmly, No.

After this continuous series of rejections we had about given

up hope when on April 16, 1961, Fr. Henry received a letter from Rev. Jordan Aumann, O.P., who had founded a group of Dominican Sisters to work exclusively in Latin America. The sisters were scheduled to begin teaching at St. George's in Santiago in March, 1961. Fr. Aumann expressed interest in Osorno and said that if nothing unusual happened, he would be able to send sisters for the 1963 school year. Three nuns are scheduled to come. For us this letter was the occasion for a real celebration. One of our major problems was about to be solved.

But 1963 was two years away and English teachers were already in short supply. This shortage became even more acute when in March, 1961, not only was a new class of humanities added but Mr. McNamara went to theology and no replacement for him was sent from the Province. Even though we admitted only half the number of new students as the year before, teaching loads went over thirty hours a week.

As a stop-gap measure Fr. Henry turned to lay volunteer groups. After correspondence with the Papal Volunteers and AID, he was able to contact a group of lay missionaries at Regis College, Weston, Mass. Two graduates of the class of '61, Judy McAuliffe and Kathleen Roach volunteered for Osorno. They arrived on July 18, 1961.

It was not to be an easy experience for them. Coming from an American summer to a Chilean winter, both women soon came down with heavy colds. After that came the frustration in the classroom of not being able to make themselves understood. Finally, knowing little of the language, they stayed with families who spoke only Spanish. But they adapted well to the situation and soon became like members of the Chilean families with whom they were living. At the end of the school year, December 1961, they returned to the United States.

Background on the Chilean School System

The second major problem was to get approval for the experimental plan of studies. A little background on the Chilean educational system will show not only the advantage of the plan but also why we encountered such difficulty in trying to get it approved.

Chilean educational thought and practice has been strongly influenced by the French secondary school system. It is as if the highly centralized and rigidly controlled administration which the Third Republic imposed on French schools were transplanted, root and branch, to Chile. The French *lycée,* the first-rate school maintained by the State, and the *collège,* which is a subordinate school maintained by the municipality or by private means, have become in Chile the *liceo* and the *colegio.* The French *baccalaureate,* the final examinations for secondary schools conducted by the University, has been transformed into the Chilean *bachillerato.*

On paper Chile has a much more centralized school system than the United States. In theory every improvement in a state school, even to the replacement of a broken window, must be cleared through the Ministry of Education in Santiago. Practically every week new directives, binding on all schools, are issued from the Ministry. These may range from what color jackets the boys are to wear to more properly educational subjects such as curriculum and examinations.

The school system is not the only relic of the French Third Republic. The Radical party, the most powerful single political force in Chile, is a lineal descendent of turn-of-the-century French anticlericalism.

The Radicals have a strong voice in the Ministry of Education. Their philosophy can be put in three words, *"El Estado Docente,"* that is, the State has primary, even sole responsibility for the education of its citizens. All other schools are divisory and weaken the unity of the State.

The "other" schools are, principally, Catholic schools. The Radicals work in every way that they can to curtail and hinder the growth of Catholic schools. Any Catholic school that tries to free itself from State control, as we have tried to do in Osorno, is in for very rough sledding. For even though the government in power might be called Catholic, the establishment in the Ministry is solidly Radical. Catholic Ministers of Education come and go, but the Radicals stay on.

The Radicals are also powerful in the administration of the local school systems. As we mentioned before, the Chilean regional school systems are grouped around a Liceo, or central public high school. The Liceo is considered *the* school. All

other schools in the area, public or private, are subsidiary to the Liceo and depend upon the approval of the Liceo for the promotion of their students. Without a certificate of promotion from the Liceo for each year of high school, a boy can not take the University entrance exam.

At the end of the school year, the Liceo sends examining boards to conduct final examinations for all grades in each of its member schools. If a boy fails any of these exams, he must return at the beginning of the next school year to take another exam. If he flunks two condition exams and his total average is below passing, he must repeat the year. The examinations themselves are not uniform for each school. Each examining board makes up its own exams and the range of difficulty varies from school to school.

It is in these final examinations that the State exercises its greatest control over private education. In theory this control need not be odious. It might even be beneficial if the exams were uniform and the boards impartial. If, however, these men are anticlerical, they have a Catholic school like our own at their mercy. It is not unknown for an examining board to fail an entire class.

The San Mateo Experimental Plan of Studies

To free ourselves from this tight State control and from the unsatisfactory official plan of studies, we have presented an experimental plan of studies and asked for government approval. If we were to gain this approval, we would be able to give our own exams and still have valid promotions.

The name "experimental," as applied to our program, is a misnomer. As we mentioned before, it is for all practical purposes the Maryland Province syllabi translated into Spanish. But to the Chileans it is something new. The Chilean curriculum tends to be diffusive where we would be intensive. For example, a Chilean student, in what corresponds to our second year high school, has eleven subjects to cover—Mathematics, English, Spanish, French, Biology, History, Religion, Manual Arts, Music, Physical Education, and Drawing. Each of these subjects is of equal importance in the final examinations. A failure in Music or Physical Education has the same weight as a failure in French or Biology. Manual Arts is

given the same number of hours a week as French, which gives the impression that both are equally valuable to all. In general, it is a system that tries to do too much. It tries to educate the boy going on to the University and the boy staying home on the farm, using the same program for both. It is surprising that young Chileans are as well educated as they are.

Our proposed changes are obvious to one familiar with our schools in the States. First we would drop Manual Arts, Music and Drawing from the curriculum and make them extracurricular activities. Secondly, our instruction would be more intensive. For example, where in the Chilean system a boy would study Chemistry and Physics together for two years, but for just three hours a week each, we would give him Chemistry six hours a week one year and Physics six hours a week the next year.

The Fight for Government Approval

After two years of trying, we are farther away from government approval now than when we first arrived in Chile. The reason is more political than educational. When we arrived in Chile, a number of factors were on our side. The Minister of Education, Sr. Francisco Cereceda, had a son a Jesuit and had granted approval to a Chilean Jesuit experimental school in Valparaíso. Fr. John Lenny was able to get *viva voce* approval from Sr. Cereceda for our experimental plan. The next step was written approval.

As soon as Fr. Henry arrived in Santiago, he presented the fully worked-out program to Sr. Cereceda. Seven months later, the plan was returned to Fr. Henry for some revision and amplification. With the help of Fr. Jorge Gonzalez, S.J., Rector of the Catholic University of Valparaíso, the necessary changes were made. But before the experimental plan could be presented to the Ministry again, Sr. Cereceda resigned and a new Minister of Education was appointed.

The new Minister, Sr. Eduardo Moore, though a Catholic and very sympathetic, had not the same interest in pushing our plan through the mazes of the Radical establishment. Fr. Henry logged more than ten thousand miles of travel between Osorno and Santiago trying to get the plan approved.

Seeing that his own influence was not enough, Fr. Henry then organized a political action committee among the fathers of the boys. One member is the president of the Conservative party in Osorno and another the president of the Christian Democrats. These men tried to apply pressure on the Ministry through their political representatives in Santiago. So far all results have been negative. After two years of hard work the experimental plan has neither been approved nor rejected. We can not get a "yes" because the Radicals will not allow a "yes." We can not get a "no" because the Chilean Constitution guarantees freedom of education. For two years we have been in limbo, hung up between a constitutional ideal and a political reality. We live from year to year teaching according to an unapproved curriculum, hoping that our exams will be valid.[3]

In 1960 we were saved, paradoxically enough, by the earthquake. The school year was so badly disrupted that the State suppressed exams in Music, Drawing and Manual Arts, subjects which we did not teach. For the school year 1961, we presented a petition to the Ministry to promote our students to the next grade without taking examinations in the above subjects. That petition was not granted. So our boys had to take these exams soon after the 1962 school year began.

Our Plans for the Future

The present school building is just a half block from the Plaza de Armas, the governmental and business center of town. It is an ideal location in many ways but both the school building and the grounds are too small for our future needs. The site of our future plant is some eight blocks from the center of town. Though it is the property which the Bishop had given us, we decided to build on it only after investigating every other available site in Osorno. Eleven and a half acres in area, the site is almost completely level and has a somewhat triangular shape. Nearby is a residential section of town from which a good number of the boys come. A bus line runs right in front of the property and water and electricity can be hooked up with little expense. A somewhat larger piece of

[3] It was decided, sometime after this paper was written, to adopt the Chilean plan of studies for the school year 1962.

ground would have been preferred but none was found that could match the advantages which the Bishop's property offered.

Approval to build has been received from Rome and the plan is to put up a new humanities section first. Construction is to begin this December. The grammar school will continue in the old building until we are financially ready to build again.

It is difficult to project San Mateo's future growth. But within the next few years we hope to have an average of eighty students in each of the preparatory grades and fifty in each of the six classes of humanities. The lower average number of students in the humanities is based on the experience of the French and German schools which graduate about half of those who started humanities. Once our new facilities have been put to full use, we expect a total school population of between eight hundred and nine hundred students.

Since San Mateo is the only Catholic boys' school in the province of Osorno, we will eventually have to provide boarding facilities for those who live on outlying farms. At the present moment some thirty of our students are boarding with families in town.

Conclusion

The major portion of this paper touches only "The Little World of San Mateo." Men used to monumental buildings or grand exploits in space will find the story of six men working in a wooden schoolhouse in Chile small stuff indeed. Yet here, with the grace of God, is the mustard seed, that smallest of all seeds which grows larger than any other in the garden.

The Osorno Venture, though starting in a schoolhouse, will not be confined there. For the challenge and opportunities of the apostolate here are enormous. The poor are looking for justice and some one other than the Communists must champion their cause. Catholic couples look for guidance and instruction and there are not enough priests to help them. High school and University students are looking for some meaning in their lives but they will not go to the Church to find it. The field is white for the harvest. Pray, then, to the Lord of the harvest that He send workers into His field. We commend the Osorno Venture to your kind prayers.

Perspectives of the Church in the Spiritual Exercises

Paul Broutin, S.J.[1]

The *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius purport basically and most obviously to be a book of personal asceticism, and have always been classified as such in religious literature. Saints and popes, preachers and directors of conscience, clergymen and laymen, have always sought and found in the *Exercises* an "order of charity." While the *Exercises* are the product of the profoundly personal religious experiences of Ignatius, they also bear the imprint of their era, which is that of the *devotio moderna* and of sixteenth-century individualism. St. Ignatius has transposed this heritage to another register, but the harmonies between the two are unmistakable. Between the motto of Newman, "God and myself" and the twentieth annotation[2] there seems to be perfect agreement. We can discount certain unfortunate comparisons and superficial commentaries on the *id quod volo* which, at the price of exalting self-discipline, arrive at a religious egocentricity which is totally un-Ignatian. But the fact remains that individualistic piety, interior reform, the seeking of God's will for me, are the basic ideas of the *Exercises* which receive the greatest stress in individual and group retreats. And no one will contest the justice of this interpretation.

But do the *Exercises* exclude wider horizons than these? Do they not reveal an ecclesial perspective more in conformity with present-day trends? Under the guiding force of the liturgical and theological movements, modern piety has made

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[1] This article first appeared in French in the *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 32 (1956) 128-144. The translation and adaptation here is by Fr. Edward J. Mally, S.J.

[2] "The more the soul is in solitude and seclusion, the more fit it renders itself to approach and be united with its Creator and Lord; and the more closely it is united with Him, the more it disposes itself to receive graces and gifts from the infinite goodness of its God." (Translation of L. Puhl, Newman Press, 1957) Cf. St. Augustine: "Noli foras ire, in teipsum redi; in interiore homine habitat veritas." *De vera religione*, c. 39, n. 72; *PL* 34, 154.

rich discoveries in this field during the past forty years. Under the leadership of Dom Gréa and of Pères Clerissac, Meersch and de Lubac, more significantly, in the light of the encyclicals *Mystici Corporis Christi* and *Mediator Dei*, "the Church has reawakened in our souls."[3] The mystery of the Church and its history have become the object of prayer. We are now in a better position to understand that the true prayer of a Christian is the prayer of a member of the Church, and a spirituality centered about the Church is in full process of development. If the *Spiritual Exercises* remain on the periphery of this trend, which is manifestly inspired by the Spirit, then is it not to be feared that they will once again fall into disesteem? Such a situation would indeed be an injustice to St. Ignatius, for in his mind the *Exercises* were never meant to be narrowly restricted or rigid.

In order to make this adaptation it is not sufficient to subject the *Exercises* to some sort of fanciful coating, to expand the meaning of certain isolated words, or to compose excursus in the margin of the text. What is required is that the truth of the *Exercises*—a truth which is always ancient, always new—be penetrated anew, and studied in a light different from that of the usual explanations. The *Exercises* open magnificent perspectives on the mystery of the Church, and it is our task to bring to light these unexploited riches. These treasures grow in the soul that contemplates them, and enlarge the whole field of the soul's investigation and research.

Too often, in speaking of the spirit of the Church which animated St. Ignatius, we are content to quote the Rules for Thinking with the Church, together with several passages from his letters. But there is much more ample and rewarding material to be found. The fact is that the entire book of the *Exercises* can be interpreted "ecclesially." If the word *Church* occurs only rarely in the *Exercises*, it is still true that the Church itself is woven into the very fabric of every page.

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[3] R. Guardini, *Vom Sinn der Kirche*, p. 1. Quoted by H. de Lubac, *Splendor of the Church* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956), p. 10, note 2.

The Principle and Foundation

The meaning of the Principle and Foundation has varied greatly with individual interpreters. According to the notes of John Helyar[4] and the directory of Vittoria,[5] the Principle and Foundation was intended at first to be no more than a preliminary remark similar to the annotations. But even the earliest directories already accord it more importance. "The foundation should be proposed before anything else," in the form of a meditation, "by points."[6] Thus presented, it became an important principle of the spiritual life, the foundation of the entire edifice. Though proposed in the form of a preparatory prayer, it was to be the bond of continuity and coherence between the various exercises, to give meaning to the three degrees of humility as well as to the colloquies to the crucified Christ, and finally, to be a companion-piece to the Contemplation for Obtaining Divine Love. Thus the Principle and Foundation belongs to the supernatural order, and cannot be truly understood except in the light of the Gospel.[7] It is not the work of an Erasmus or a William of Vair, but of the mystic of Manresa and the Cardoner, whose thought follows a continuous line. It is a program of perfect *ordinatio vitae* in the supernatural order, a brief recalling of the Christian economy of salvation. Hence it is not surprising that the Church is implied in the Principle and Foundation, for we cannot conceive of a participation of the divine life which does not take this communitary form. Even at this stage of the *Exercises*, the connection between the glory of God and the salvation of souls, the notion of an indifference which frees the soul, and especially, the intensification and growth of the new life, suppose a family milieu in which mankind can enter into communion with the divinity.

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[4] John Helyar was an Englishman, born ca. 1503, who made the *Spiritual Exercises* under St. Ignatius. He has left a MS copy of the *Exercises* written in his own hand, dating from ca. 1535 (*Codex Reginensis*), together with a set of notes called *Praecepta utilia iis, qui spiritualium meditationum stadium ingressuri sunt.* Cf. *Monumenta Historica S. J.*, series 2_a, tom. unic. (Monumenta Ignatiana: Exercitia et Directoria) [Madrid, 1919], pp. 207-208; 569-573. Subsequent references to the *M.H.S.J.* are to this volume. [*Tr.*]

[5] Cf. *M.H.S.J.*, p. 792. [*Tr.*]

[6] St. Ignatius, *M.H.S.J.*, p. 783; Polanco, *ibid.*, p. 807; Miron, *ibid.*, p. 853; González Dávila, *ibid.*, p. 910.

[7] Cf. J. Levie, "The Meditation on the 'Foundation' in the Light of Saint Paul," *Woodstock Letters* 84 (1955) 18-32.

This basic plan spans two eternities, going from the state of grace to the state of glory. Without this predestining of man to eternal glory, human beatitude cannot be integrated into the honor and service of God. The uncreated glory unites the three divine persons among themselves; created grace unites humanity to the Trinity in and through the Church. The "man" of which Ignatius speaks is not a Platonic idea; it is the Spiritual Man, the New Man, the Whole Man, head and members, of redeemed humanity. It is to these citizens of heaven, these co-heirs with Christ, these children of the Father—*filii in Filio*—that St. Ignatius speaks when he proposes the fundamental truth. In his own manner he is repeating the words of St. Paul: "The world, life, death, the present, the future—all of it belongs to you. But you belong to Christ, and Christ belongs to God." (1 Cor 3.22-23) It is necessary to keep this perspective in view from the very beginning of the *Exercises* if we are to maintain throughout the course of the *Exercises* the balance between *amor complacentiae* and *amor concupiscentiae*, between perfect and imperfect charity, between self-love and self-abnegation.

The late Pére Huby explained this necessary connection between the individual and social points of view:

> Man is born and reared in a society, and normally does not develop without the assistance of others like himself. But this condition is not sufficient to free him from his selfishness. He can look upon the blessings he has received as so many instruments of self-cultivation. He can refuse to others the gift of his love, or enclose himself within the narrowly limited scope of a selfishness that takes account of only two or three others, an individual rather than a person in the full sense of the word. For if it is true that the real person is one made in the image of the Blessed Trinity, then personality implies both distinction and union with respect to others. To break out of the circle of one's own individualism, to open one's self to a love which is not bounded by distinctions of caste and race, nor by injuries and offenses, is to spiritualize one's self more and more. For only the spirit can transcend the barriers which the flesh tends to raise up instinctively. In his *Journal Métaphysique* Gabriel Marcel writes: "I do not truly lift myself up to God except when I think or desire with all my strength that an infinity of other beings also count in His sight." [8]

[8] J. Huby, "Gloire de Dieu et salut personnel," *Etudes* 204 (1930) 527.

This is precisely the attitude of soul, the entering into God's presence, the prayer which St. Ignatius demands at the outset of the *Exercises.*

Use of Creatures

If this spirit of catholicity is necessary in order for one to adore the living God in spirit and truth, it is equally necessary in order for one to find his true place in relation to all other creatures. In their epistles St. James and St. Paul have laid down the principles: "Of his own accord he [the Father] brought us into being through the message of truth, so that we might be a kind of first-fruits among his creatures." (Jas 1.18) "For creation is waiting with eager longing for the sons of God to be disclosed. For it was not the fault of creation that it was frustrated; it was by the will of him who condemned it to that, and in the hope that creation itself would be set free from its bondage to decay, and have the glorious freedom of the children of God." (Rom 8.19-21) "The appointed time has grown very short. From this time on those who have wives should live as though they have none, and those who mourn as though they did not mourn, and those who are glad as though they were not glad, and those who buy anything as though they did not own it, and those who mix in the world as though they were not absorbed in it. For the present shape of the world is passing away." (1 Cor 7.29-31)

It is in the light of these inspired texts that St. Ignatius determines the use of creatures. They are to serve as *viaticum,* as provisions for man on his journey back to God. They are the pledge which the Father gives men of their eternal inheritance. And they must necessarily enter into the Catholic profession of faith, because all creatures concur in the working out of the supernatural order. Left to the whims of the individual, they can give the appearance of vanity, as St. Paul says. But St. Ignatius wishes creatures to keep their imprint of God, to remain in their divine transparency: they come from God and lead back to God. To pass beyond temporal goods without losing eternal goods, the Christian needs a directing principle, the *Tantum Quantum* in the Foundation of the *Exercises.* But what else is this just measure, made of prudence and wisdom, if not the personal vocation of each

one in the Mystical Body of Christ? It is on this level that we should study the whole question of material and spiritual possessions, of individual and collective work. The rules for the distribution of alms, especially the first and seventh, are an application of this.

Viewed in this light, the principle of indifference also assumes a positive character which gives ease and confidence to the soul. It loses that stoical flavor which some wish to give it, and becomes impregnated with the spirit of the Gospel.

Père Saint-Jure has transposed the text of St. Ignatius with remarkable skill:

> With regard to indifference, we should for our part be indifferent to all the uses which Our Lord wishes to make of us, whether for wealth or poverty, for honors or scorn, for pleasures or pains, for health or sickness, life or death, for time or eternity, to have or not to have, to retain or renounce, to love, to hate, to desire, to do, to speak, to be silent, and, in general, for all things; so that without any resistence on our part, and with complete freedom on His, He can dispose of us, our bodies, our souls, our thoughts, our affections, of everything, and use us absolutely as He pleases.
>
> We should have toward Him the indifference of a member under the control of the head, just as the foot is by nature completely undetermined as to whether it will go to the left or to the right, along one path rather than another; or as the hand is undetermined to move in one way rather than in another. . . . So we too must not desire anything on our own, in order that Our Lord may have all power to move us as undetermined members, and to use us when, how, and why He wills.[9]

Hence Father Rahner is not mistaken in maintaining this interpretation:

> Everything in the *Exercises* which precedes and follows these two key meditations [the Kingdom and the Two Standards] takes its meaning from them; all that precedes, because only after them do we see with such clarity what Ignatius intended in his Principle and Foundation which he prefixed to his First Week. Only after these exercises does their theology become apparent, progressing as it does from creation, through indifference, to that which "conduces more to the end for which we were created." But why and for what end we were created we can learn only from Christ our Lord; we can learn in what the "more" consists, since now it receives a more significant development, though in itself it appears illogical

[9] Saint-Jure, *L'homme spirituel* (Lyon, 1836) I, 87-88.

and meaningless. All this provides a new solution to the question whether or not the Foundation is primarily and solely concerned with natural creation and the consequences which flow from it, and whether it is therefore merely a preparatory theodicy. This is not the case at all. It is, then, incumbent upon us to imbue the meditation on the Foundation with the Christological [and, we might add, Ecclesiological] spirit, without in any way sacrificing its introductory character of laying bare the mere outlines and nerves, so to speak, of the *Spiritual Exercises*.[10]

The Triple Sin

The Principle and Foundation refers to the order of creation as such, and applies to all states of life and all states of soul. The *Exercises* properly so called are situated in the order of redemption, or more exactly, in the order of sin, of the redemption of man, and of the Church Militant. The exercises of the first week are concerned with sin, and in them we can admire the psychological genius of St. Ignatius. In order to inspire in each one "shame and confusion, a growing and intense sorrow and tears for my sin," he begins by giving us a lesson. Through the spectacle of the sin of the angels and of Adam and Eve, he presents it under all its aspects, individual and social, spiritual and sensible. He lays it before us in all its dimensions, he measures all its energies and drives.

Far from being a superfluous exercise which can be omitted at the discretion of the retreat master, the meditation on the sin of the angels is an essential element of the *Spiritual Exercises*. If, as St. Paul says, all society in heaven and on earth has its origin in the fullness of source which is the Father, then the angels constitute the first supernatural world of pure and perfect spirits, the first assembly of hierarchized free beings, the first universe in which all the parts are in quest of their primordial unity. As pure spirits they have a native and secret affinity to God who is Spirit.

From the first moment of their creation they are in possession of all their faculties, natural and supernatural. They have neither childhood nor adolescence nor growth, and from the start they are capable of making their fundamental choice,

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[10] H. Rahner, *The Spirituality of Saint Ignatius Loyola* (Westminster: Newman Press, 1953), p. 36-37.

either to accept or to reject the grace which they received collectively in nine choirs.

The catastrophe takes place. It is the total rejection of the supernatural, the fall of a multitude declaring its solidarity, the first spiritual world overthrown and irrevocably destroyed. The sin of the angels becomes thus the exemplar, so to speak, of all other sins. It is the source of that immense solidarity in evil into which will be incorporated every other rejection and denial of divine grace. As leader of the revolt Lucifer becomes the tempter, the liar, the murderer from the beginning, the demon Legion mentioned in the Gospel. By his social instinct, or rather, by his pride of race, he seeks to throw off its axis the supernatural world on earth just as he had ruined the one in heaven. He scores a masterful success in attacking the head of humanity. He drags down all of humanity in his fall by an original sin which is the counterpart of the original sin of the devils, and which has the same spiritual and collective traits.

Similarly, what interests St. Ignatius in the sin of Adam and Eve is not so much their disobedience as "the great corruption which came upon the human race," that mass of human beings "all going down to hell." Here is the full source from which the sin of the human family takes its origin, the fundamental error of wishing to seize by one's self and for one's self the gift of God which, as such, is never bestowed except for the totality of a multitude. It is the racial pride of a spirit who severs divine love at its root, "the desire to be absolute and independent instead of subject, the preference of one's separate and solitary advantage to the good of the whole whereof one is but a part. It is the self-centralizing, self-exalting tendency let loose from the yoke of reason to run its course, and not restrained to the service of God, and by the higher law of universal good."[11]

This rejection of grace received as head of the human race was the sin of Adam, and it was directly dependent upon the sin of Lucifer. In recalling the account in Genesis, St. Ignatius wishes only to present the genealogy of evil, to establish this continuity between the revolt of the pure spirits and that of the incarnate spirits. His purpose is to press to its

[11] G. Tyrrell, *Hard Sayings* (London: Longmans Green, 1901), p. 79.

ultimate conclusion that inexorable logic which binds all the damned with the same chain. "Whoever commits sin is a child of the devil, for the devil has sinned from the beginning." (1 Jo 3.8) All men are by nature involved in one and the same universal catastrophe, they are lost *en masse*. It is at this center of misery that Ignatius feels the heritage of sin weighing heavily upon them, and the realism of his words "an ulcer and an abscess" recalls that of St. Paul's words at the beginning of his epistle to the Romans (1.24-32). Hence the question of numbers falls into the background. There are in hell, says St. Ignatius, "countless others who have been lost for fewer sins than I have committed." It is even possible for a man to be condemned to hell "because of one mortal sin." The whole enormity of his sin consists in having ratified in his own life the rebellion of Lucifer and of Adam, in having shared in the evil within the anti-Church of the fallen spirits of all worlds and all times.

From this viewpoint of collective responsibilities, the meditation on personal sins takes on new meaning. In the text of the *Exercises* the emphasis on the individual is undoubtedly the more marked. The fourth point, which recalls St. Angela of Foligno's vision of the two abysses, is a solitary mystical experience. But the other motives of contrition pointed out by St. Ignatius lend themselves easily to being adapted to more extensive horizons. Thus, in the second point, the common estimation of the Church could be a very useful basis for "weighing the gravity of my sins and seeing their loathsomeness and malice." Even though it were forbidden by God's law, revealed or positive, sin would still have an intrinsic ugliness. Allow a man, a family, a society, to abandon itself to lies and to anger; we will see that immediately life becomes impossible. "And so of resentment, peevishness, discontent, sarcasm, ill-nature, pride, arrogance, boasting, meanness, avarice, selfishness, fraud, dishonesty; not to speak of coarser vices like drunkenness and impurity. Let any one of them run its course unimpeded, and it stands to reason that it will destroy the happiness of mankind, and make life, individual and social, altogether unbearable and impossible."[12]

This essential holiness of the universal order reappears in

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

the fifth point of St. Ignatius' meditation (*Exer.*, no. 60). There the repentent sinner asks himself how it is that the universe continues to follow its harmonious laws when the moral order has been overthrown. The "cry of wonder accompanied by surging emotions" re-echoes "before the assembly of saints and angels." If their mere presence is a source of humiliation for this insignificant rebel who is the sinner (third point), how overwhelming would it not become if the angels and saints did not intercede for him? Is it not the mystery of the Communion of Saints which sheds light on this whole situation? Reparation appeals to the living forces of the entire Mystical Body. Is it not that the Church itself has already been affected by the injury, in the collectivity of her members? Not the least among present-day theologians have emphasized the social resonances of all sin. This is exactly in the spirit of the Exercises.

> In the plan of God all men are bound together. They form a vast body, so to speak, with Christ as its head, and directed in its totality to the procurement of God's glory and the eternal happiness of each of its members. Each in his own place and within his own sphere must contribute to the common cause. Consequently no one acts in isolation. He is part of that immense choir in heaven and on earth which sings the glory of the Creator, and the false notes which he sometimes allows himself not only disrupt the general harmony, they also affect all the other participants. In other words, the sinful act of one individual produces an inevitable repercussion in the moral life of humanity at large. By violating the order according to which he should tend toward his end, the sinner, as far as lies within his power, works to overthrow and destroy it. The liberty which he allows himself is not a bad example, the consequences of which are completely outside his power to prevent or limit; it is also a direct encroachment upon all those who must necessarily maintain and safeguard this law in order to arrive at an end. It is also against them that the sinner contracts a true debt.[13]

Seen in these perspectives the meditations on the general judgment and on hell serve as excellent complements to the preceding exercises. In them we see sin made human, universal, social, eternal, carried out to its ultimate unfolding. It is the circle of evil closing upon itself, the sphere of sin flying wildly in its orbit outside the supernatural.

Would it not be possible to prolong the thought of St. Ig-

[13] P. Galtier, *Le péché et la pénitence* (Paris, 1929), p. 44.

natius and to speak of a synthesis of the sin of the world, such as he suggests in the colloquies of the exercises of the First Week? We could avail ourselves of many texts of St. Paul. It is well known that the Apostle has a fondness for personifying sin; he speaks of its reign, he gives it servants, members, companions who follow him beyond the grave. St. Ignatius, it is true, does not evoke the same vision, but he does give sin its vital organs in the passions and in the world. By multiplying his sins the sinner imprisons himself in a network of despotic habits which enlace him with their tentacles. Sin has its place of incarnation, or at least of growth, and that place is the world. It is there that it proliferates and finds its center of crystallization in complacent public opinion. It is there that Satan builds his anti-Church, in which sins clash and form a block. This consideration forms the obvious transition between the exercises of the first and second week.

The Second Week

The essential theme of the last three weeks of the *Exercises* with their proper method of prayer, concerns Christ in His mysteries. The primacy of God's glory, established in the foundation meditation, receives new clarity by reason of the Incarnation of the Son of God and of his earthly history. *Gloria Patris, Filius vivens.* We can see the level on which St. Ignatius' thought develops. This "contemplation" is not simply a pious historical remembrance. It must be made actual and personal if one is to know intimately, love ardently, and follow faithfully the Christ who is ever alive in His Church. His Gospel is not a dead letter; it enters into the daily life of the Church. It is not only the agony of its Head that the Church shares with Him until the end of the world; it also prolongs His contemplation and pastoral action, His preaching and authority, His compassion and benevolence, His successes and setbacks, His witness and martyrdom, His death and resurrection. It is not only in the liturgical year that the Church relives all these mysteries, but also in the history of each day. And the transposition that Msgr. R. H. Benson made long ago in his book *Christ in the Church* is not without interest for anyone who wishes to make the Exercises, not with the detachment of one who retires to his tent and cuts

himself off from all reality, but with the concern of a son deeply interested in the Church, and with her present-day needs clearly before his eyes.

Upon this life of Christ in the Church is to be projected the great light of the contemplation on the Kingdom and the meditation on the Two Standards. These are Ignatian meditations *par excellence*. In no other writings does St. Ignatius show himself more original and yet more traditional. He shows his originality in transferring to the spiritual life his ideal of chivalry and his ardent desire to distinguish himself in a noble cause, in his extravagant love for the humanity of Christ, and in his flair for greater service in sacrifice—a flair which accords so well with Christ's excess of love. Ignatius shows himself the man of tradition in taking up and making his own the great idea of the two ways or the two cities, an idea developed before him by St. Augustine, St. Caesarius of Arles, St. Gregory, Paul of Aquileia, St. Beatus, and Raban Maur, and regathered by Werner Kuessenberg in his *Flores Sanctorum*.[14] The theme, therefore, is not new, but the manner in which St. Ignatius uses it in his spiritual synthesis gives it new value.

The Two Standards

The meditation on the Two Standards, introduced by the contemplation of the Kingdom, is at the heart of the *Spiritual Exercises*, just as it is at the center of the Church's spirituality. It penetrates to the depths of the mystery of the Church on earth and of her paradoxical situation in this world.

It was the master stroke of St. Augustine to have linked up, in the *De Civitate Dei*, the destiny of the human race with the principles governing the value of each man's destiny. By this confrontation he enlightened the mystery of souls and that of the church. The whole history of the Church and of each of its members is summed up in the antagonism of the two loves. "Two loves have created two cities: love of self has built the city of this world which rises up even to the contempt of God; and the love of God has built the heavenly city which rises up even to the contempt of self."

Under the symbol of the Two Standards St. Ignatius takes

[14] F. Tournier, "*Les deux cités*," *Etudes* 123 (1910), p. 654.

up the synthesis of the great Bishop of Hippo. The experiences of these two converts were so much alike that it is not surprising to find a harmony between their intuitions on the level of both the interior life and the life of the Church.

> In Augustine the theology of the City of God, written from the depths of his interior soul-life, gave rise to a devoted, but at the same time militant, love of the pilgrim Church, which was constantly at war with the prince of the kingdom of the world. In Ignatius we find the same burning, and yet at the same time, serene joy of battling for the Church under the banner of Christ his Commander-in-chief, a joy which we can explain only by a grace-imparted insight into the mysteries of God and the Church given him at Manresa. Augustine and Ignatius found their God, not in the blissful solitude of a merely subjective interior life, but on the battlefield of "a thousand cares for the Church"; and this "solicitude for all the Churches" (2 Cor 11:28) was the criterion by which they judged the genuineness of the various spirits.[15]

No less than St. Augustine, St. Ignatius sees the destiny of each individual soul as enclosed within the destiny of the Church. He links the vocation and holiness of each member to the Mystical Body at large. At the critical moment of the election, the author of the *Exercises* places before the retreatant's eyes the struggle between the two cities, in which, willingly or unwillingly, he finds himself involved. He is forced to take a stand. "Whoever is not with me is against me, and whoever does not gather disperses." He is under constraint to follow the path of the Gospel. "If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself, take up his cross daily and follow me." He is compelled to make the leap toward a true holiness.

To make concrete the meditation on the Two Standards, the great scene of the temptation of Christ is perfectly suited. Within the framework of the Exercises, Christ's temptation in the desert should be shown in parallel with the temptation of our first parents in paradise, and it should be pointed out that the victory of the Redeemer over the enemy of human nature was the victory of the second Adam with the weapons of poverty and humility.

If a framework of even wider perspectives is sought, it can be found in the last chapters of St. John's Apocalypse. These

[15] H. Rahner, *op. cit.* (note 8), p. 77-78.

bring out St. Ignatius' thought in all its boldness, by the description of the two enemy cities Babylon and Jerusalem.

In the course of the Church's history the reconciliation between the two cities has been frequently attempted. The city of Satan is "the great city that has dominion over the kings of the earth." (Ap 17.18) "Her sins are piled up to the skies, and God has remembered her crimes." (Ap 18.5) "The woman was dressed in purple and scarlet, and glittered with gold, precious stones and pearls. She had in her hand a gold cup full of accursed things, and the impurities of her immorality. On her forehead there was written a name that was symbolic: Mighty Babylon, mother of idolatresses and of earth's abominations." (Ap 17.4-6) It is the synagogue of Satan, in which his throne has been set up for a ceremony of false doctrines and idolatrous worship. After its fall the city becomes "the haunt of demons, and a dungeon for every foul spirit and every unclean and loathsome bird." (Ap 18.2) Its ruin has not put an end to the work of hell. Like a network this campaign extends over the whole world into which the Evil One dispatches his subordinates. Among the pre-Gnostic aeons St. Paul recognized them: "Principalities, dominations, sovereigns of the world of darkness, evil spirits spread abroad in the air." (Eph 6.12) They are all at the command of the chief, "the great dragon, the ancient serpent." (Ap 12.9) All his emissaries have received the same orders: to sow confusion and division, "to lay snares for men and bind them with chains; to tempt them to covet riches, to lead them to the empty honors of this world, and to bring them finally to overweening pride."

The vision of Jerusalem transports us to a new heaven and a new earth. It is the Jerusalem on high, our mother (Gal 4.26) which gives us true liberty, the liberty of Christ. All the splendors of creation are reunited in her. "She comes down out of heaven from God, like a bride dressed and ready to meet her husband." (Ap 21.2) "The city does not need the sun nor the moon to shine in it, for the glory of God lighted it, and the Lamb is its lamp. The heathen will walk by its light. The kings of the earth will bring their splendor to it. Its gates will never be shut by day—for there will be no night there and they will bring the splendor and the wealth

of the heathen into it. Nothing unclean will ever enter it, nor anyone who indulges in abominable practices and falsehoods, but only those who are written in the Lamb's book of life." (Ap 21.23-27) In the midst of this city stands "the sovereign and true commander, His appearance beautiful and attractive." It is the Master of the new and eternal covenant. All the allegories of the nuptials of God and humanity announced by the prophets have become reality. "He pitched his tent with men, and he will live with them. They will be his people and God Himself will be with them, and he will wipe every tear from their eyes." (Ap 21.3) To this city His Spouse, Christ too sends emissaries. St. Paul enumerates their different charisms: "He has given us some men as apostles, some as prophets, some as missionaries, some as pastors and teachers, in order to fit his people for the work of service, for building the body of Christ." (Eph 4.11-12) Their rôle is "to help all" to come to "a knowledge of the true life exemplified in the sovereign and true commander." But this beautiful Jerusalem does not let us forget that in this world the two cities are "one in body and separated in heart." It is indeed the Church in which are verified the parables of the wheat and the cockle, the wise and foolish virgins, the catch of good and bad fish. By his example and teaching Christ draws the boundaries of separation. He marks the stages of the ascending life: poverty, patience with suffering and injustices, humility of heart.

Of this threefold grace asked again and again in the colloquies to Our Lady, to the Son and to the Father, St. Ignatius gives another infallible criterion: "Each one should assure himself that he will make progress in the spiritual paths, to the extent that he divests himself of self-love, of his own will, and of his own interest." By inverting the terms slightly we have in these three words the laws of perfection in a spirituality centered in the Church. Essentially communitarian, this spirituality abolishes in all its forms that which is "one's own," the private, the individual (in the selfish sense of the word). She wishes disinterestedness, the abnegation and obedience of an apostle in whom perfect self-possession is measured by the amplitude and generosity of self-dispossession.

At this stage of the *Exercises* we can look back and see the ground we have covered: the man converted from sin has become an apostle, the service of God has become the service of the Church, obedience to Christ has become obedience to the Church. "God, Church, obedience: these now form the triad by which Ignatius measures all ethical values . . . . Henceforth his purpose is to aid the souls of other men. From now on, the 'social moment' in the meditation on the Two Standards, which is at the same time the dynamic element in the picture of Christ, occupied Ignatius' whole mind, and everything else had to be subordinated to this new ideal of service."[16]

The Fourth Week

The fourth week of the *Exercises,* too often abridged in retreats, confirms this atmosphere and spirit of the Church in which the whole Ignatian prayer has developed. The contemplation of the glorious mysteries of Christ's life, into which the *contemplatio ad amorem* can fittingly be interwoven, strengthens the bond between the service of God and the service of souls. Is not this bond forged precisely by the resurrection of Christ and by His sending of the Spirit? For Christ the Head this phase marks the glorious life, the return to the Father, and the sending of the Holy Spirit as "another Consoler." For the Mystical Christ, the Church, this is the phase of the work of redemption to be pursued, the continuation of the Trinitarian missions: "As the Father sent me forth so I now send you." (Jn 20.21) It is the phase of the Apostles' mission to the world. "Go and make disciples of all the heathen." (Mt 28.19) It is especially the mystery of the Lord's presence "until He comes." "And I am with you always, to the very close of the age." (Mt 28.20) The presence of Christ in the Church is an immanence of activity. The consciousness of this presence, which the soul acquires by recalling the apparitions, especially the apparition to Mary Magdalene, "the apostle of the apostles," fixes the soul in a state of active union with the Lord.

It is noteworthy that all the "contemplations" of the fourth week correspond to those of the second. In both cases we are

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 55-56.

concerned with the Church in a state of service under command; to the call of the King corresponds the mandate and mission to the world. In the *Spiritual Exercises* the call and the carrying out of the call are the seal of this double benediction. Before His passion the Lord calls those whom He has chosen to serve Him as His friends; He gives them a definite function, and bestows on them graces and powers. He prepares and measures the resources of this apostolic mission, and adapts their mentality and activity to it. After the great test of Calvary He tells those who have been faithful to Him to go forth, spread, and multiply the treasures of His victorious grace and of His risen life. Thus, to the power of the keys promised them during His public life corresponds the mission given at the time of the apparition on Easter evening. And to the temporary experience of the Galilean ministry corresponds the command to be His witnesses to the ends of the earth. The two miraculous catches of fish, one before and one after the passion, have the same symbolic value for these "fishers of men." To the exigencies of the apostolate—"If anyone wishes to come after me"—correspond the final words of pastoral perfection: "If you love me, feed my sheep."

Thus, gradually and in a magnificent intuition of the Christian mystery, of the Paschal mystery, St. Ignatius passes from "thinking with Christ" to "thinking with the Church." To this purpose we find a series of counsels at the end of his book, the importance of which cannot be overestimated. These are the counsels "to foster the true attitude of mind we ought to have in the Church Militant," or, better and more simply, the Rules for Thinking with the Church.[17] They are the exact

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[17] According to most authors the sources of these rules of orthodoxy are to be sought in the works of Josse Clichetove, *De veneratione sanctorum; Propugnaculum Ecclesiae; Antilutherus; Improbatio quorumdam articulorum Martini Lutheri*, and in the acts of the council which the bishops of the province of Sens held at Paris in 1528. St. Ignatius undoubtedly came to know these writings during his stay in Paris. In the redaction of the Rules, he borrowed ideas and even phrases from them. The parallelism of the texts offer conclusive proof of this. (Cf. P. Dudon, *Saint Ignatius of Loyola* [Milwaukee: Bruce, 1949] p. 457-462.)

According to chapter 38 of the *Directory*, it was only towards 1540 that the Rules for Thinking with the Church were added to the text of the *Exercises*. Nevertheless they are not just an appendix tacked on, meaningful only for the Protestantism of the sixteenth century. Like the Rules for the Discernment of Spirits, the Three Classes of Men and the Three

parallel of the rules of discernment of spirits for the exercises of the second week, and they are a marvelous illumination of the contemplations of the fourth week. They have the same spirit of "gladness and intense joy because of the great joy and glory of Christ our Lord."

The deepest meaning of the *Exercises* of the fourth week is summarized in the fourth and fifth points: "This will be to consider the divinity, which seemed to hide itself during the passion, now appearing and manifesting itself so miraculously in the most holy Resurrection in its true and most sacred effects. Consider the office of consoler that Christ our Lord exercises, and compare it with the way in which friends are wont to console each other." The rules for thinking with the Church have the same characteristics.

To quote the epistle to the Romans: Christ "has been decisively declared Son of God in his holiness of spirit, by being raised from the dead." (Rom 1.4) Christ's Church too has entered into the splendor of her glory; she too manifests her divinity; she is His spouse and our mother, and everything is said in these two words. But in the eschatological age, during which the hierarchical Church lives out its history in this world, during which the forty Paschal days are still tinged with the spirit of the forty days in the desert, the rays of light are still mixed with shadow, appearances are deceptive, the brightness of the divine splendor is hidden under earthly appearances. Having been previously shorn of all individualisms, St. Ignatius' retreatant should be "ready and prompt to obey in all things," to submit himself to a realistic discipline, to recognize the voice of his master in the accents of the hierarchy. He should possess this spiritual sense for the things of the Church, for the persons of the Church—this sympathetic knowledge which renders him sensitive to all its supernatural manifestations. First of all, in its sacramental economy, and especially in the sacrament of the Body of Christ and in the sacrament of the power of the keys. The liturgy surrounds these prayers and sacramental rites with its deep

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Degrees of Humility, the Rules for Thinking with the Church are incorporated into Ignatian spirituality, giving it a wider and more profound ecclesial quality. On this point we have followed the interpretation of E. Przywara in his excellent *Deus semper maior* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1940) 3, 336-360.

and mysterious symbolism. Just as St. Ignatius desired so much that the order of exercises should follow the hours of the Church's prayer, at least for Mass and Vespers of each day, so too the true son of the Church will perform his worship in spirit and truth within this life-giving atmosphere. He will see remarkable reflections of the divine splendor in the religious life and in the excellence of virginity, "the vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, and every vow of supererogatory perfection," the sacramentals and commandments of the Church, its theological teaching in the tradition of the ancient and modern Fathers, etc. Like the disciples of Emmaus, he should have this supernatural instinct, this spiritual sense by which to taste interiorly the sweetness of the invisible world which impregnates the whole Church, in its members and persons, in its orders and institutions.

The Church is not only the Body of Christ and His fullness, it is also the center from which the Spirit is sent forth, the living habitat of the "other Consoler." St. Ignatius emphasizes this attitude of the Lord which is particularly notable after His resurrection. We can almost say that in His nostalgia for earth, Christ wished to leave to His own the taste of that peace which He had brought into the world. The retreatant must experience this euphoria of spiritual life which is produced by the invisible missions of Christ and His Spirit. It is then that the promise made at the Last Supper is fulfilled. "If you really love me you will observe my commandments. And I will ask the Father and He will give you another Helper to be with you always. It is the Spirit of Truth. The world cannot obtain it, because it does not see it or recognize it; you can recognize it because it stays with you and is within you." (Jn 14.15-17) "The Helper, the Holy Spirit which the Father will send in my place, will teach you everything and remind you of everything I have told you." (Jn 14.26) From this great revelation St. Ignatius draws his golden rule: "Between the Spouse who is Christ our Lord, and the Church His Spouse, it is one and the same Spirit who governs and directs us for the salvation of our souls." To those who are risen with Christ this Spirit brings freedom, joy, tranquillity of conscience, charity. The asceticism of fear is certainly not excluded, but its purpose is "that one may easily advance to

filial fear which is wholly pleasing and agreeable to God our Lord, since it is inseparably associated with the love of Him." In this eighteenth rule we recognize the teaching of St. Paul in the epistles to the Galatians and Romans: "What the Spirit produces is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control." (Gal 5.22) It is also the great tranquillity of our predestination in Christ. "It is God who guarantees us and you to Christ; he has anointed us and put his seal upon us and given us his spirit in our hearts, as his guarantee." (2 Cor 1.21-22) That is why "we ought not to speak much of predestination, looking at it from every angle." Having triumphed over the world with regard to sin, justice, and judgment, the Spirit has given us our guarantee of eternity. There is no need to retrace our steps and bring up the question of the meaning of life. The answer is already at hand, it is in the present moment of our good works. "If you love me, keep my commandments . . . My commandment is that you love one another as I have loved you." (Jn 13.34; 14.15)

By the exercises of the fourth week and by the rules which elucidate them, we are led back to our characteristic note of Ignatian spirituality—a mystique of action. In this mystique the grace of prayer transforms not only the passivities of the soul, but also its activities. The result is excellent for all apostolic workers. It is the right balance between contemplation and action, between grace of state and duty of state, between perfection of state and perfection of function, between the essential holiness of the Church and the personal holiness of its members. In these conditions the apostle can really become the pure power of God.

This is the secret of the holiness of the Church Militant, and the *Exercises* are an excellent initiation into this holiness.

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This explains why great men of the Church, like St. Charles Borromeo, found in the *Exercises* the best nourishment of their prayer. They discovered in them a point of contact between their personal piety and that of the entire Church. The case of the great bishop of Milan is particularly interesting.

By personal inclination and as a result of certain influences, he was led to the spirituality of the *Exercises*. But the great truths of the *Exercises* upon which he meditated became for him principles of pastoral activity. The "Counsels and Rules" which he wrote in his own hand upon the text of the Ignatian *Exercises*, as well as the measures he laid down in the *Acta Mediolanensis Ecclesiae* for the spiritual formation of his clergy, are a lasting testimony to this. "A book like the *Exercises* of St. Ignatius, which asserts and imposes itself as the wisest and most universal code of the spiritual conduct of souls, as an inexhaustible source of the deepest and most solid piety, which stirs up the soul irresistibly and guides it unfailingly to conversion, to the highest spirituality and perfection,—such a book was to hold first place among the books preferred by our Cardinal, who reproduced so well their characteristic genius and noblest aspirations, in a word, their whole spirit."[18]

St. Charles Borromeo had understood the providential mission of St. Ignatius in the development of the spirituality of the Church. In the time of the counter-reformation it was not sufficiently emphasized that the reform of the hierarchy goes hand in hand with a mystical resurgence. The counter-reformation was an institutional reform tied up with personal reform. All the Saints of that time felt themselves to be in the line of the great men of the Church, and it was in this catholic belief that their spirituality acquired all its force, value and richness.

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[18] A. Ratti, *San Carlo e gli Esercizi di Sant'Ignazio*, in *Collection de la Bibliothèque des Exercises* (Enghien, Belgium), no. 32, p. 41. Cf. *M.H.S.J.*, p. 24.

Jesuits Still Serve the Potawatomi

Joseph S. Karol, S.J.

Every Sunday and holyday for fifteen years, a priest and a catechist have driven from St. Mary's College in the early morning and headed for the Potawatomi Indian Reservation, some twenty miles northeast of the college. There, at the wooden chapel of Our Lady of the Snows, the missionaries have given the Indians the services of the Church.

What makes this apostolate different from the others cared for by the college is the fact that it is a continuation of a work that Ours began in the seventeenth century. Father Claude Allouez opened the first mission for the Potawatomi in 1669, in the Lake Michigan country, their original home. With but two interruptions, one of them due to the suppression, Ours have worked for the Potawatomi for almost three hundred years.

The Catholic members of this tribe form one of the oldest Catholic congregations in the mid-west. They have an interesting history, not only because of their close connection with the religious and political history of America, but also because their story is the story of many tribes moved west by the government.

Background

The Potawatomi originally were united in one nation with the Ottawa and the Chippewa, the tribe of Nakomis, Iagoo and the other well-known characters of Longfellow's *Hiawatha.* This nation lived in the lower peninsula of Michigan about the time that Columbus discovered America. Then they moved to the northern peninsula of Michigan and to northern Wisconsin. One group broke from the nation and went off on their own to the south. They were called the Potawatomi, "the people of the fire"; that is, those who build a fire of their own.

When Jean Nicollet landed on the shores of Green Bay in 1634, it was the Potawatomi who met him, for they had al-

ready moved into the area. Their first contact with missionaries came in 1641 at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. Here representatives of the tribe who had gone to the "Soo" for the fishing, met St. Isaac Jogues, S.J. who had come up from the Huron mission at Fort Ste. Marie on Georgian Bay, to contact the tribes from the West. Father Jogues returned to tell his fellow missionaries that the Indians of the West wanted the Blackrobes to come to them. The Jesuits were planning to expand their mission activity to these tribes when the Iroquois came and destroyed the Huron mission. Those missionaries who were not martyred returned to Quebec.

The Potawatomi regularly went to the great fisheries on Lake Superior near the present site of Ashland, Wisconsin. They arrived there in 1665 to find that Father Claude Allouez had established a mission on the Lake and was preaching to Huron refugees as well as to the natives of the area.

The Potawatomi invited Father Allouez to open a mission in their country, so he turned the Lake Superior mission over to Father Marquette and went to Green Bay. There, in 1669, he opened the St. Francis Xavier Mission.

All this time however, the Potawatomi were moving south, and by the end of the seventeenth century they had pretty well occupied the shores of Lake Michigan from the present site of Manitowoc, Wisconsin around the head of the lake and up to Grand River, Michigan. They also moved south into Indiana as far as the Wabash River and into the Illinois hinterland. Their lands included what are now the sites of Milwaukee, Chicago, South Bend and Grand Rapids.

The tribe was divided into two sections. Those who lived in Wisconsin and in Illinois were called the Prairie Band; those in Michigan and Indiana were called the Forest Band. This latter group was again divided into those who lived near Lake Michigan, or the St. Joseph Band, and those who lived inland, or the Wabash Band.

Father Marquette passed through Chicago in 1673, on his way to Green Bay after he had discovered the Mississippi River. He returned to Chicago the next year and spent the winter of 1674-5 in a cabin near what is now the downtown area. In 1688, Father Allouez established the Mission of St. Joseph on the St. Joseph river, near what is now Niles, Michi-

gan. Father Allouez was said to have preached the Gospel to 100,000 Indians, and came to be known as the Apostle of the Algonquins. His Mission of St. Joseph was for the Forest Band, and it continued until the Jesuits were banished from North America in 1762.

Father Pinet, S.J., conducted the Guardian Angel Mission in Chicago from 1698 to 1702. The site of the mission is said to have been in or near the Loop, somewhere between the forks and the mouth of the Chicago River. After this mission closed, the only missionaries who contacted the Potawatomi living in the Chicago area were those who used the portage there in passing between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi valley via the Illinois River.

During the eighteenth century, the Potawatomi fought in various wars on the side of the French. They engaged in the Fox War and the French and Indian Wars, which culminated in the great battle on the Plains of Abraham at Quebec. In 1759 they and other midwestern tribes fought there under Montcalm against the British.

The Potawatomi first joined Pontiac against the English but during the Revolutionary War, the British agents incited them against the Americans. After the war, they made a peace treaty with the United States. In 1795 they ceded to the government six square miles at the mouth of the Chicago River, where today is located the heart of the great metropolis. This first sale of land was the handwriting on the wall for the tribe. Some of the Potawatomi who feared the encroachments of the white man fought under Tecumseh, but most remained loyal to their treaty with the government.

The Chicago group or Prairie Band was visited periodically in the early 1800's by the few missionaries then in the midwest, Fathers Richard, Stephen Badin and St. Cyr. In 1833 the Prairie Band ceded five million acres of land to the government for fifteen cents an acre. Between 1835 and 1837 most of them moved to their new lands in Southwestern Iowa near Council Bluffs, and to Eastern Kansas, near Kansas City.

In 1837, Father Hoecken, S.J., began to minister to the group in Kansas. The next year, Father Peter DeSmet, S.J. began his long and famous career as a missionary to the

Indians of the west, by opening a mission among the Potawatomi settled around Council Bluffs.

Meanwhile, the Forest Band of Indiana and Michigan, after the Jesuit mission at St. Joseph closed, were visited from time to time first by the priests from Vincennes, Fathers Gibault and Rivet, and then by the pioneer priests from Detroit: Fathers Reze, Stephen Badin, first priest ordained in the United States and who re-opened St. Joseph Mission, DeSeille, Boheme and finally, Father Petit. During the pastorates of Fathers DeSeille and Petit, Bishop Bruté came from Vincennes to administer Confirmation.

Father Petit's time as a pastor was a sad one, for in 1837, the year he arrived among the Potawatomi, the Indians were given lands in Kansas in exchange for those they had ceded in 1832. The next year, Father Petit accompanied the major part of the Forest Band to Kansas. Escorted by soldiers, thirty of them died on the terrible "Trail of Death" between Indiana and Kansas. After they reached the Osage River, Father Petit turned his flock over to Father Hoecken.

The Wabash group went to Sugar Creek, near present Mound City, Kansas; another, the St. Joseph or Michigan group, settled near Potawatomi Creek. Father Hoecken was with the latter group. The next spring, in March, they joined the other group at Sugar Creek and St. Mary's Mission was started there.

In five successive migrations between 1834 and 1840, over two thousand Potawatomi had arrived in the Osage River district. The majority of these were the Forest Band, but there were some of the Prairie Band among them, also.

The main Prairie Band, the group from Wisconsin and Illinois, were still in the Council Bluffs area. Some Ottawa and Chippewa were with them, and they called themselves the United Nation of the Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatomi, for they said that they had been united in one nation before the white man came. After Father DeSmet began the mission at Council Bluffs, he left for the west, and Fathers Verreydt and Hoecken, together with Brothers Mazzella and Miles, all of the Society of Jesus, composed the staff in 1841. In that year, however, the mission was closed and the Jesuits

went to Sugar Creek. Father Hoecken visited the Prairie Band from Sugar Creek.

The Sugar Creek mission of St. Mary's prospered. There was a church that was well attended, and a school for boys. In 1841, Blessed Philippine Duchesne, then seventy-two, arrived with three other Religious of the Sacred Heart to open a school for the girls. Blessed Philippine remained only a year because of her age and ill health, and though she could not teach, happy in the thought that a life-long ambition was being fulfilled, she prayed for hours every day in the chapel. The Potawatomi called her "The woman who always prays."

The last living link with the Sugar Creek Mission died ten years ago on the Potawatomi Reservation, Mayetta, Kansas. He was Frank Jackson (Wapinummit), oldest living native Kansan before his death at 104. He was born in 1838, and was baptized at Sugar Creek in 1840, so he saw and may have known Blessed Philippine Duchesne.

In 1847, when Frank was nine years old, the Potawatomi moved north to a new reservation on the Kansas River, west of Topeka, as a result of the treaty of 1846. The mission was re-established in 1848 and became St. Mary's, Kansas. All that Frank Jackson remembered of the migration was that he had the job of carrying a pail of maple syrup for his family.

On the new reservation, the Sugar Creek group was reunited with the Prairie Band from Council Bluffs, who had also made a treaty in 1846 and moved two years later.

At St. Mary's, the Jesuits and the Religious of the Sacred Heart continued their schools. Several Jesuits devoted all of their time to visiting the families scattered over the thirty square mile reservation.

In 1867, the Potawatomi made a new treaty with the government and the reservation was broken up. Many of the Indians sold their lands at St. Mary's and moved to a new location in central Oklahoma, mostly around Shawnee. They live there today and have fine schools. The Benedictine Fathers and the Sisters of Mercy carry on the work.

The group that remained at St. Mary's moved to a new eleven mile square reservation in Jackson County that had been carved out of one corner of their old reservation.

The mission school for boys became St. Mary's College in

1869, and the girls' school became the Sacred Heart Academy. In 1879 a fire completely destroyed the boys' building, so the Jesuits bought the academy building and the Religious of the Sacred Heart left.

The Indians on the new, smaller reservation, twenty miles northeast of the college, were still cared for by the Jesuits, and especially by Father Gailland, 1848-1877. When Holy Cross Parish was built near Emmet in the 80's, the Indians attended Mass there and the pastors of the parish also said Mass in homes on the reservation. St. Joseph's Church was built at Hoyt in 1900, and this was used by the Indians living on the eastern side of the reservation.

All this time the Potawatomi had been trying to get a church of their own. When Father John A. Murphy became pastor at Emmet, he organized the building of a church. Work was begun in June 1912, and finished in October. The parishioners did most of the work. The unique name of Our Lady of the Snows was given to the building for the following reason. During the early Eighties, Mary Masquat, wife of Chief Masquat, became very ill. The Indians made a novena to the Blessed Virgin for the recovery of the sick woman. The pastor of Holy Cross Parish came often to console the sick woman and bring her Communion. Every trip involved a long journey through the heavy snows that fell that winter, so when the woman recovered, the Indians said that if they ever built a church, they would call it after St. Mary of the Snows.

The pastors of Emmet and Holton divided the care of the new church, which served as a mission church. In 1918, Father Geinitz was appointed pastor of the newly organized church at Mayetta, and was given charge of the reservation church. He did much for the parish during his sixteen years as pastor. When the church at Hoyt was closed, Father Geinitz brought the bell and the stained glass windows to Our Lady of the Snows.

When Father Geinitz retired in 1934, Bishop Johannes of Leavenworth appointed Father John J. Ryan of Holton to care for Mayetta and Our Lady of the Snows as mission churches. For a time, Father Ryan had to say Mass at all three places on Sunday and found it very difficult to care for

all the related duties. Beginning in 1936, the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth held a two week religious summer school for the children of the parish. In 1938, the Jesuit scholastics from St. Mary's College, St. Mary's Kansas, took over this work. That year, Bishop Schulte relieved the Holton pastor of the duty of saying the third Mass at the reservation and asked the Jesuits at St. Mary's to resume the work they had started for the Potawatomi in 1669, and assist the pastor at Holton by caring for the reservation church.

Since then, there has been Mass every Sunday, followed by a catechism class for the children who cannot attend Catholic school. Forty of the parish children attend the Catholic school in Marty, South Dakota. Three members of the parish have become religious.

What of the future? The Potawatomi, especially the Catholics, have been very successful at the process of integration into the ordinary stream of American life. Work in factories during the last war has hastened this process. The government is seriously considering the closing of the reservation. If this happens, Our Lady of the Snows will change from a mission church for Indians into a parish church for all neighboring Catholics, Indians included. In truth the transition has already started.

* * *

Father Edwin J. Healy, S.J.

Chester A. Burns, S.J.

For Father Edwin J. Healy, late professor of moral theology at the Gregorian University, who died in Rome, February 22, 1957, moderation is the key-note. Immoderate eulogy would distress him. He was born for—and he lived for—higher things. And he died seeking them.

He was a man moderate in all his ways and moderate language best expresses him. He was ordinary in thought, word, and deed; and, as a result, so it would seem, moderate in conduct and bearing. He was, briefly, a typical Jesuit of the

Detroit-Chicago provincial area, remarkable mainly to those who knew him for his ordinariness. This, despite his career as an eminent Catholic moralist.

Yet his ordinariness had a distinctive quality about it, a quality too obvious to remain long hidden. Try as you might (and as he might to obscure the evidence), you could not help noting that he was a thoroughbred. St. Thomas tells us that virtue long practiced becomes relatively easy. The remark suggests the secret well-spring of Farther Healy's ordinariness. He had the quiet knack of making difficult tasks look easy; and actually in his hands they probably became so. Whatever he did, whatever he said, whatever he wrote, seemed (to the onlooker) easy; and (as such onlooker) you were ready to dismiss them lightly—until called upon to do some small similar thing yourself. Then you realized that Father Healy's ordinariness was not the commonplace matter you had thought it. He had not acquired his seemingly effortless competency by an act of wishful thinking or the use of comfortable, arm-chair methods. He *worked* to become the ordinary person he seemed to be. He had none of the "effortless superiority of the Balliol man" about him. He worked hard, constantly, cheerfully, though always with great calm and without ostentation.

Perhaps it was for this latter reason that even his habits of industry came to be taken for granted. The scholastic-theologians of his classes at West Baden who, like scholastics at all times everywhere, narrowly observed their professors and the mannerisms of each, referred to him (not without affection and admiration, and always respectfully) as a "hard-charger," often not pausing to reflect, that "hard-chargers" (hard workers, to you and me) are made, not born.

He had talent, of course, as all men created by God have and must have, without exception. What was exceptional about him was that he *worked* to develop his talents. He was not content, as many another might be, to be hailed as "a brilliant scholar," "a pleasing personality," "a popular teacher or preacher," though all these he was without visible striving. "*Qui potest majus, potest minus,*" the familiar scholastic axiom, might easily explain this phenomenon. For what he aimed at chiefly was that at which St. Ignatius would have

every Jesuit aim, namely, "the acquirement of solid and perfect virtue, either with more spiritual visitations or fewer." As a result he became, with the years, both a scholar and a gentleman, and something rarer than and beyond these, yet something so ordinary as almost to be overlooked: a genuinely good religious, a virtuous and a holy man.

In view of all this, (almost, it might be said, at his whispered request), we shall not attempt to give anything like an exhaustive account of his life-story. The more salient features will suffice.

He was born in Detroit, February 19, 1897, into a family well-to-do and well known. As one of eight children, he was the only one destined to become a Jesuit, though a brother and sister were likewise to embrace the religious state. He attended the University of Detroit High School and (for two years) the University of Detroit itself. During the First World War he served in the United States Navy, attaining the rank of Ensign; and at the war's end, entered the novitiate at Florissant. After completing his juniorate studies at Florissant, he was sent to the French scholasticate in Jersey for Philosophy. He served his Regency in Cleveland, teaching two years in the high school and one year in the college. His theological studies were made at the Weston Scholasticate of the New England province, and he was ordained in Holy Rosary Church, Detroit, at the express request of Bishop Gallagher, a friend of the Healy family and Ordinary of the diocese. The year of Tertianship was spent in Cleveland; and this completed, he was sent to Rome for a biennium in moral theology, the latter event deciding his life-work and lending precision to his subsequent efforts.

Though he could not know it at the time, he had, when his *biennium* was concluded, something just short of twenty years in which to cultivate the particular field of labor assigned him by Divine Providence. The boundary lines of the field were sharply and clearly drawn. Viewed in retrospect, the work involved was of proportions so impressive as to seem to require a long life-time of years for any man to cope with. But twenty years suffices when the man in question is as serious, steadfast, studious, zealous, and untiring as was Father Edwin J. Healy. *"Consummatus in brevi, explevit tempora multa."*

He would crowd into days, weeks, and months, work that another man, less serious, less steadfast, less studious, less zealous, less indefatigable, could not hope to spread leisurely over an equal number of years. If he held himself and his attainments lightly, he hoarded his time with the jealous concern of a miser weighing his gold. Hence, into each minute, each hour of every working-day went his concentrated efforts. But from the beginning of his teaching career, the efforts produced what they were intended to produce—results. "These, my students, my jewels are," he might justifiably have said at any time of later life, pointing them out with a pardonable pride.

For from the fall of 1939, when he began his teaching career as professor of moral theology at West Baden to the day of his death at the Gregorian in 1957, he formed uncounted classes of Jesuit theologians, as well as scholastics of other religious orders and aspirants to the diocesan priesthood, in the indispensable elements, the fundamentals, that is, of the Church's moral teaching. Just how many thousands of young priests he thus instructed, is a question we may leave to the statisticians to determine; but it is certain they were many.

Clearly, the office assigned him by obedience was no sinecure. The responsibility was great and the labor involved, heavy and demanding. But he never faltered. His life-work was his life, and he neither asked for, nor had he time for, any other. And in both his life-work and his life he was happy; for he was doing God's will, something sad-sounding, as of a far-off bell tolling, to many ears, and as little listened to, but always dear to him, as dear as home itself. In fact, once having left "home, father, mother, brother, and sister," it was the one home his heart spontaneously turned to, the only one he honestly and even heroically cherished. Humanly speaking, that is to say, weighed in the scale of instinctual tendencies, this was not easy: he had no more natural love of living in foreign lands and making his home there than the next man. But when obedience expressed itself he conformed quickly, with no ostentation, to "that which was commanded." Neither by facial expression, word, nor gesture did he ever betray that he had personal preferences, not to say objections,

in matters of this kind. He had schooled himself to look beyond limited horizons when God spoke within his heart. Hence, in whatever countries of the world he lived and travelled (and they were many), in each he found God's will as clearly made manifest as if an angel had spoken. For from the moment obedience ordered, there, wherever it was, was his home and his homeland. He was no sight-seeing cosmopolitan; just a generous Jesuit doing God's will from the heart.

It is a relatively easy matter to sift the record of twenty years of devoted labor and record one's personal impressions of them in a greater or lesser number of paragraphs and pages. But the devout living of such years is not so simple. Father Healy's twenty years of priestly ministry may have been, and, most probably, were, in the main, simple; for he was not one to clutter life needlessly. Yet the ministry itself was exacting, arduous, and characterized by a scrupulously-persistent practice of "the greater abnegation and continual mortification" so prized by St. Ignatius and stressed by him. In matters spiritual, as in matters moral, Father Healy was no trifler. Life, though full of healthy laughter for him, was itself no laughing matter.

In this he showed himself an Ignatian Jesuit. His asceticism was unmodernized, with apologies to no one. Though not displaying themselves as such on the surface, it was in abnegation and mortification that his life, like a good tree, was rooted. His work came almost by way of an aftermath. His teaching, guidance of souls, administering posts of responsibility in the Society and out of it, his writing of books, living in lands not naturally congenial, his giving of conferences, retreats, the hearing of confessions up to and beyond the exhaustion-point, his preaching, extensive business and spiritual correspondence, parlor-counselling of souls in distress: these and other priestly ministrations to himself alone known, were, without exception, each and all, incidental to and consequent upon this deeper vitality within him—his interior life, his life in union with God. The rest, beautiful and wonderful for the eye to gaze upon, were no more than the fountain-waters of his soul leaping up and dancing in the sun.

His "manner of living as to external things" was, as all the world could see, "ordinary," but interiorly it was different.

There was something there you could only guess at. Always and everywhere popular without sacrifice of principle, he was at the same time respected and acknowledgedly reverenced by his closest friends. The external marks of virtue were there for all to see: what escaped the eye was the inner something visible to no eye but One.

For his soul, like the soul of any man who seeks to give himself generously to God, was solitary. He made no attempt to communicate to others what of its nature is incommunicable—his inmost self. No one, not the most cherished of relatives and friends, ventured to intrude on, much less invade, the sanctuary of his soul. This, from the earliest days of religious life, he held sacred, and sacred he kept it to the end. Those who knew him best, knew that there was much about him they did not know; knew, or certainly suspected, that what they did not know was the best within him. His soul was God's and his trysting-place, and, as such, he kept it sacred and secret.

Even with death the sacredness and secrecy remain. For to date, no disclosures of intimacies with God privately enjoyed by him have come to light. As far as common knowledge goes, Father Healy kept no diaries revealing his soul's ardors. In matters personal, St. Ignatius was not more taciturn than he. But beneath the glass top of the dresser in his room at West Baden might be seen a little holy card of dubious artistic design (for he was not aesthetically discriminating) bearing tidings of great joy, whose brief message may with good reason be taken to suggest something of what the interior movements of his soul must have been like. Doubtless, he meant it for a reminder and a rejoinder if ever he should tend to slump when tensions grew strong or to cry out in pain under burdens too heavy to bear. "Smile at God," the short sentence runs, "in loving acceptance of whatever He sends into your life and you will merit to have the radiantly smiling Christ gaze on you with special love throughout eternity."

Whether the wording is his or the effusion of some warm-hearted simple-souled author of name unknown, the sentiment expressed epitomizes Father Healy and unveils him. In child-like fashion (for he seems to have had the heart of a little child in his dealings with God) he smiled at God each day as

he began his work and at frequent intervals thereafter, and God, not to be outdone in common courtesy, smiled back. Then, working, watching, and praying, he expectantly looked forward to the joys of the world to come where Christ with welcoming smile awaits us.

In passing, it is significant that Father Healy should have singled out the "smiling Christ" as his special object of inspiration: he was always smiling himself. And his smile was the smile of one who smiles easily, a warm, friendly smile coming from the heart. All of which suggests his ordinariness revealing itself again and connoting the extraordinary in the matter of "solid and perfect virtue"; telling too of his soul's secret held sacred and kept so to the end. In small things as in great, his ways were the ways of the thoroughbred.

The rough outlines of his priestly career may be quickly drawn. After two years of apprenticeship, so to call them, one year spent as socius to the provincial and the other as professor of ethics at Loyola University, Chicago, he entered upon what was to be his life-work, at West Baden College, on the opening of that institution in 1939. Except for a one-year interim (1944–1945) of teaching at St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, Illinois, the Chicago Archdiocesan seminary taught by Ours, and a four or five months' residence in Rome (1949–1950) when he served as a member of the Commission for the Revision of the *Ratio*, his life for the next thirteen years was confined almost exclusively to West Baden. Here, as professor of moral theology and dean of the Theologate, he settled down manfully to work and buried himself in books, until the time of his departure for Rome in 1952.

He was during this period strictly a home-body, as indeed, he always had been and would be. He rarely left West Baden except when duty or necessity required it. In the summer months, he either taught in one of our colleges or gave conferences and retreats to lay-persons, priests, and nuns—or (quite often) did both. The remainder of the time, which was the major part, was devoted to the teaching of his classes, to conferences with the theologians, and the writing of his lucid, popular, highly reliable and readable books. This was the period of high-noon in his life as a professional moralist. In richness of result they were never to be sur-

passed. During this time his talents came to full maturity. Call it a secluded life if you will, uneventful and unexciting; it was a full life and an apostolic one, this life of the thirteen hidden years at West Baden.

But the end was approaching, little as he or anyone else could suspect it. Fifteen of the twenty years entrusted him by God in the priestly ministry had profitably passed; now just five were left him to bring his labors to conclusion. The circle was coming to full stop, and soon. It was appropriate therefore, though not what might be called agreeable to the "natural man" (what little there was left of it in him) that these last five years should be spent in Rome, the Center and Capital City of Catholic Christendom.

To Rome, then, in the year 1952, he was sent and to Rome he went, departing without fanfare. Arriving in Rome, he assumed the duties of professor of moral theology at the world-famous Gregorian University. If this more-or-less abrupt change-over from West Baden to Rome was made by him to look easy, it was not because it was so. After all, he *did* have a heart and heart-strings, and the heart will cry out in moments of stress, even if in vain. True, the Gregorian was no more than West Baden all over again. Or was it? For what a difference! The subject-matter of his teaching was the same, but his classes, unlike the more homogeneous ones to which he had been accustomed, constituted now what can only be called a heterogeneous mixed multitude, a Catholic and ecclesiastical League of Nations, numbering not infrequently upward of a thousand students.

Nevertheless, as at West Baden and at Mundelein when suddenly summoned there, he went his way in Rome, once he had settled himself at the Gregorian, just as he had always done before, serene, cheerful, studious, exact—and undaunted. Truth, after all, is the same whether professed before a hundred or a thousand; and whether the listeners be "Parthians, Medes, Elamites, inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, and Asia," with a generous sprinkling of Italians, French, Germans, and some serious, truth-seeking Americans thrown in for good measure. Such seemed his unruffled attitude; for he did not ruffle readily. And, as at West Baden and at Mundelein, his teaching met with wide and, in so far as any

teacher can hope for such an unhoped for thing, universal applause. In fact, some Gregorian-trained students have said that of all the professors at the Gregorian (and the number runs high), there was none more popular than Father Healy, and few, if any, as much so. Without in any manner trying subtly to influence others, he drew all men to himself. Virtue went out from him and came back in the form of admiration, affection, and esteem accorded to only a limited number. Yes, he was a thoroughbred, and his students, whether perceiving it formally or not, sensed it and acted towards him accordingly. He may have been the only one who did not know it, but there was, it is reported, a well known secret running rampant in Rome to the effect that it was hoped (and by many expected) that he would be the Gregorian's next Rector.

As the years passed, his fame as a moralist grew. Gradually he came to be known as the FAMOUS Father Healy, the GOOD, GOOD man (*il FAMOSO Padre Healy, il uomo EXCELLENTE*), the American Jesuit of the Gregorian; and if not the last word in matters moral in Rome, certainly an authority to be referred—and deferred—to. As such, he was *THE* Moral Theologian of the Sacred Penitentiary Apostolic, an ecclesiastical body specializing in perplexing moral problems. Abstracting from considerations of the precise manner of functioning of this body, its purpose and official jurisdiction, it was he who, with one of the Roman Cardinals presiding, served in the role of Moral-Theologian-in-Charge, a one man Court of Appeals, so to speak, the result of whose deliberations on moot questions were expected to be (and were) expert, decisive, and final. The last question of every conference, after the particular subject-matter of the day had been discussed at some length, being, "*Quid dicit Pater Theologus,*" put it squarely up to Father Healy to render decision; which he always did, to the satisfaction of all.

Engaged then in such labors; leading, too, his religious life more devoutly than ever; acting as confessor to the seminarians of the American College in Rome; giving conferences and retreats to lay-persons, nuns, and priests, at home and abroad, when some lull in his work permitted; serving as consultant in countless cases of confused consciences by letter and person-to-person contact: thus were the last five years of his life

spent. And then, just as God had planned it from eternity, the end came. It came quietly and without preamble of serious sickness (unless a persistently annoying sore throat be considered serious), with no clamor or confusion, and causing trouble to no one. All of which was in keeping with his "ordinary" manner of living and characteristic of him. It was as simple as that. He was just three days over his sixtieth birthday and half-way on in his thirty-eighth year in the Society. Not an old man surely, nor yet one guilelessly young, but a man sturdy and at full maturity of powers with the quiet wisdom of a sage.

Death came in the dim dawn of the morning of February 22, 1957. It occurred, apparently, as far as can be ascertained, some time shortly after his customary hour of rising at five. Stricken by a heart-attack, he died, as we say, we who know so little of such things, suddenly. He had no time to prepare; but then, what need had he of hurried formal preparation whose life itself was preparation unqualified? He received no Last Sacraments; he who had instructed so many thousands in the nature and necessity of these same and trained his students in the correct manner of administering them. On the face of it, there would seem to be an injustice lurking somewhere, a sort of oversight on the part of Him who watches with Fatherly concern over the birds of the air and to Whom the hairs of our heads are numbered. But we are "foolish and slow of heart" if we entertain such thoughts. Actually, there was no injustice—not the slightest—and no oversight. God was there to see to it that his good friend Father Healy died as he had lived. He did not take him by surprise. The only surprise there might conceivably have been would have come with the shock of great joy that must inevitably accompany that first sudden sight, rendering the soul speechless and incredulous, of "what things God has prepared for them that love Him."

Thus passed from our midst one loved and reverenced as few men in our day are, one held in honor and the highest esteem; a man looked to as a beacon-light is looked to—for guidance and direction—and as such, shedding light on everyone and everything but himself. It would be easy (for it would be a snare of the Evil One) to strike a melodramatic

pose and bemoan his untimely passing; but it would be no less easy to fancy him looking down from heaven upon us just as we were in the act of doing so, and asking with his quizzical little smile: "Did you not know that I must be about my Father's business?" Which, rightly, would halt us in our folly as persons being questioned good-humoredly, yet in all seriousness: "Are you also without understanding?"

At any rate, it is more in keeping with the reverence his memory calls for that we honor him for what he was: a man, a priest, a Jesuit, of modesty and "charity unfeigned," of "solid and perfect virtue," one whose life, moderately brief, was, despite its brevity, "full of days," crowned with achievements, and "ordinary," as the manner of all of us "as to external things" is intended to be. As such may he rest in peace.

Note on His Published Works

We have here neither the space required nor have we the competency to pass learned judgment on the merits of his published works. Only formally trained moralists are properly prepared to judge moralists. Still, over matters as plebeian as popularity they exert no control. The common man, untroubled by the small theological wars and rumors of war circulating among experts, knows in a manner satisfactory to himself both what he likes and what is suited to him. The Church's *Imprimatur* is all the assurance he asks where matters pertaining to faith and morals are involved.

In the case of Father Healy's books, the common man has given evidence of a personal hearty approval. Thus, *Moral Guidance* is in its twelfth printing, *Marriage Guidance* in its fifth, *Christian Guidance* in its fourth, while *Medical Ethics*, already translated into Italian and French, is ready for a second printing, though published just recently in English. Clearly, his books have been a popular success.

In view of this and weighing their intrinsic merits, it does not appear rash to state that, both at the moment and for years to come, Father Healy's books are and will be the "popular classics" in their respective fields; fields largely neglected, incidentally, so far as treatment in the vernacular and in language intelligible to the layman was concerned, until Father Healy took it upon himself to remedy the neglect.

Though widely used and consulted, they must not be confused with "best-sellers." They are not that type of literature; in fact, not literature at all. Admittedly, they are not poetry nor even light nor serious fiction. They deal with facts, not fancies. As the cobbler must stick to his last,

the moralist must adhere to theological principles in dealing with moral problems. He may not, must not romanticize them. That, if it must be done, is for others to do. Father Healy was no poet and his books are not poetry, epic, lyric, or dramatic. They do not pretend to be. They are starkly realistic, as unadorned as a mathematical diagram.

But let someone try to imitate them in their own "genre." Then, slowly or suddenly, as the case may be, will it begin to dawn on the still unsuspicious what uncommon talent, not to call it something greater, he possessed, of making difficult tasks look easy. It was precisely in this, his faculty of making both himself and his achievements seem ordinary when actually neither he nor they really were so that he was, wholly unknown to himself, "*facile princeps*," "*il FAMOSO Padre Healy, il uomo EXCELLENTE.*"

Gabriel A. Zema

Anthony De Maria, S.J.

Early Years

As we learn from a diary which he sedulously kept for many years, Father Gabriel Archangel Zema was born on July 29, 1891 in a little village of Arno, in the Province of Calabria in southern Italy. He was a "Calabrese" in the full sense of the word, sharing with them their vigor, determination, and its less attractive cousin, hard-headedness.

The parents of Father Zema, Matteo and Caterina, were blessed with seven children, five boys and two girls, though two of the boys died in infancy. The family was poor, and Don Matteo, with his eldest son, Demetrio, left Italy in 1897, to seek his fortune in the far-away fairyland they called America. Three years later, the wife and three other children came to join them. Gabriel was one of the group. We are told by Gabriel himself that the voyage across the Atlantic was a rough one and came near costing him his life. The little fellow fell deathly ill and no one seemed to know the cause. They were actually making preparations to bury him at sea. But the Lord had other plans for him, and almost miraculously he got well again. Long, long afterwards, when the fright was over and the secret could be let out, one of his sisters revealed that probably the "serious illness" was no more than an upset stomach caused by drinking a whole bottle of rich, heady Marsala wine which his mother had hidden away, to be used only in the event of sickness. "A little wine is good for the stomach," but not a whole quart for a small child of eight!

The Zema family, like so many thousands of their fellow countrymen of those days, settled in the lower East Side of New York. They lived in a tenement house not far from old St. Patrick's Cathedral, on Mott and Prince Streets. The Third Avenue El rattled by only a block away; the Bowery

was next door. These immigrants were, for the most part, of peasant stock, poor, illiterate, unskilled laborers; but they were strong of body and warm of heart and willing to work. They huddled together in colonies for mutual help and because they were ignorant of the English language and ways. Moreover, they were not always properly understood or kindly received, even by their fellow-Catholics. Being members of St. Patrick's Parish, they were allowed to attend services there, but not upstairs with the more fortunate and better dressed, but in the basement of the church. Many resented this. These foreigners, it is true, came from small, poor villages. They were certainly not unacquainted with poverty and class distinction, but it was a new and harsh experiences to learn that poor clothes and foreign ways did not permit you to kneel in the same pews with the richer and better dressed. To make matters worse, Protestant agents were always present with offers of financial help and open churches to entice these poor people. Some succumbed to the siren call of those offering material help, but most remained faithful to their Faith and to their beloved Madonna.

This state of affairs lasted for many years. Finally, in 1891, the Society of Jesus was appealed to for help, and Father Nicholas Russo, an eminent theologian and author, and at the time Rector of Boston College, was sent to take care of this neglected flock. From the very start, the odds were frightfully against him. The abject poverty, the indifference and, above all, the hurt pride of the immigrants made the attempt a veritable nightmare. But Father Russo was a fearless fighter, and besides, this was God's fight. He rented a small store, on Elizabeth Street, near the present Church of Our Lady of Loreto. Assisted by two or three zealous men, he cleaned and painted the store, built a small altar, and there initiated the marvelous apostolate that was to reap such a rich harvest and last until his saintly death in April, 1902.

Once they saw the courage and Christlike charity of Father Russo, his countrymen flocked to him in great numbers. His eloquence in a language they all understood, soon attracted crowds too big to be accommodated in the tiny chapel. They needed a bigger church. Father Russo went about begging from his friends and borrowing where he could until he had

enough to build a small church and a school, on a plot of land on Elizabeth near Bleecker Street. He called it the Mission of Our Lady of Loreto. From this tiny Mission were to come numerous candidates to the Society, among them, Fathers Dominic Cirigliano, Santo Catalano, the two Zemas, Gabriel and Demetrio, Anthony Russo-Alesi, Carmine Benanti, Mariano Ilardi, Salvatore Fugarino and others.

It was while the Mission was still young that the Zemas came to settle there. Young Gabriel Zema, like his brothers, Demetrio and Ernest before him, attended Loreto School from which he graduated in 1906. For seventeen years, he was to be most intimately associated with the Mission. As for countless others, so for Gabriel the small school yard of the Mission was the whole of creation. Here, he played and studied and worked. Here, he could be found at almost any hour of day and night. The beloved statues of the Sacred Heart and of the Madonna watched over their work and play. The warm friendship and charity of the Padres were the constant subject of conversation at the family supper table. These must have been among the happiest years Gabriel spent on earth.

Although Father Nicholas Russo died two years after young Gabriel came to the Mission, he must have known this remarkable man and been influenced by his eloquent preaching and saintly example. But the man who was to exercise the greatest influence on his life was Father William H. Walsh, who succeeded Father Russo as Jesuit Superior of the Mission in 1902. This priest was to dedicate more than sixteen years of his life to the welfare of the Italians of the Lower East Side. A man of many talents, a lover of art and music, an aristocrat and a perfectionist (at times even to annoyance) he showed himself not only a true shepherd but a father and friend as well. The children loved him; the older folks revered and respected him.

As soon as Father Walsh became Superior of the Mission, he set about counteracting the harm being done by Protestant proselytizers. They had lured some of the Italians with their settlement houses and summer camps—all free. Father Walsh would do the same. He opened up the Barat Settlement on Christie Street near Houston Street, in one of the most congested and crime-ridden sections of the city. He opened a

summer camp for the boys at Monroe and another for the girls at Monmouth Beach on the Jersey Shore. He offered scholarships to boys desiring to go to High School or College. It was in this way that Gabriel was able to enter St. Francis Xavier High School in New York City in the Fall of 1906. He was not a brilliant student but a plugger, so he did well in his studies. It was while making a retreat during his third year at Xavier that young Gabriel felt that God was calling him to the religious life and the priesthood. It seemed to be the only great ambition of his life. But he was to wait more than seven years after graduation from High School before he could answer the call of the Master, due to the stubborn refusal of his father to give permission.

These years of waiting and uncertainty were long and even unhappy ones for the eager aspirant, but they were not wasted years. Gabriel was never known to loaf, and so from 1910 to 1917, he taught school, worked for the Jesuit weekly *America*, directed the Boys' Camp at Monroe, New York, was moderator of several parish organizations, and served as Father Walsh's right hand man in many ways. His ability, zeal and determination were clearly noticeable even in those early days.

In the summer of 1917, shortly after the United States entered the World War, Gabriel Zema was ordered to report to his local draft board. "It was the most trying time of my life" he wrote in his diary. He had already waited seven years to realize his heart's desire. Now his vocation was in danger. "I stormed heaven for guidance and help" he wrote. Heaven was propitious to him. His draft board found him several pounds too light and an inch too short. From now on, he would be known as "Shorty." He was humbled, but happy, because his vocation had been saved.

Entrance into Society: Saint Andrew

The rejection by the draft board came early in August. Gabriel at once applied for admission to the Novitiate. Meanwhile, he and a friend went to spend a couple of weeks of vacation in Canada. They visited the Shrine of St. Joseph in Montreal and of St. Anne in Quebec. While his friend, Nick, prayed that he might find a good wife, Gabriel begged God, so he tells us in the diary, to accept him into the Society. On

his return home, he found a letter from the Provincial telling him to report at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, on September 7th, to begin his novitiate.

On the morning of September 7th, Gabriel quietly left Seven Springs, Monroe, where he had been Director of the Boys' Camp that summer, and walked to the little Church of the Sacred Heart in the village of Monroe. There he heard Mass and received Holy Communion. Then, he went by train to Newburgh and on to Poughkeepsie, arriving at St. Andrew's late in the afternoon. His first act of devotion was to stop at Della Strada Chapel near the entrance to the grounds, where he knelt and kissed the floor, pleading with our Lady to keep him in the Society of her Son until death. That she heard his prayer we all know, and we know also that few have been more grateful for their vocation and more loyal to the Society than Father Gabriel Zema.

Brother Zema was a happy novice. He had found the road to the Novitiate long and difficult. His father's stubborn stand against his vocation had been painful and distressing. The father was to be bitterly resentful almost to the day he died. It was only when he was a very old man and about to meet his Maker that he conceded God's right to take back the son He had sent him.

When Brother Zema began his novitiate he was already twenty-six years old. As he was always sensitive about his shortness of stature, he was now ill at ease with lads freshly out of High School. The trying monotony of the Noviceship must have been hard to bear. But he had a fine sense of humor; he loved to hear a joke, and tell one. His diary is full of amusing anecdotes. This one related in his diary is typical of many others. He tells us that one day he accidently broke a glass. He went to the Socius to report the tragedy and ask for a punishment to fit the crime. Instead of the usual culpa, he and another culprit were sent on a begging expedition. When they arrived at their destination, they found no one home, but were received instead by a vicious-looking dog ready to tear them to pieces. The two beggars didn't know what to do. They looked inside the house and their hearts beat with joy, for there on the mantelpiece they spied three fine looking pies. But the dog was also there blocking their way. They finally

decided to go to a neighbor and phone the Socius for instructions. They received a shocking reply: "Don't tease the dog, don't touch the pies, and come home at once." They returned, disappointed and hungry.

All who knew Father Zema agree that he was a fine religious. He took his vocation seriously. Retreat time was for him a time of spiritual planting and harvesting. After his first long retreat, in October 1917, he wrote in his spiritual diary: "*Vidi Dominum.* I know myself so much better now. There's lots of work ahead." But he was never afraid of work, even when it meant self-abnegation and humbling of self. To those who did not know him well, Father Zema might have appeared over-sensitive and proud. In reality, he was sincere, and while the "*Ama nesciri*" of Kempis may not have been easy for him, neither was he guilty of the vain boast of the Pharisee that he was not like other men.

Like a true Jesuit novice, Brother Gabriel had a tender devotion to our Lady. On the first anniversary of his entrance into the Society, he wrote in his diary: "I pronounced my first vows to-day privately. I again offered myself to our Lady, dedicating myself to her without reservations." Resolutions such as this are found in the spiritual notes of every novice. For Gabriel, older and perhaps somewhat wiser than his fellow novices, these words bore a deeper and richer meaning. His love of Mary was to inspire and sustain him during the many years he was to serve her Divine Son.

Period of Training

If the Noviceship was a time of peace and great happiness for Father Zema, the same cannot be said of the years of his Juniorate. No matter who was to blame, those two years were marked by frustration and bitterness. "My whole Juniorate" he wrote in his diary, "was vinegar and gall." He didn't excuse himself from part of the blame. He was now twenty-eight years of age and had not been in the classroom since 1910. He tells us that he found the classes dull, the teachers unable to awake in him any interest for either poetry or rhetoric. He hated study and dreaded the thought of having to teach. Nor did it help in the least to have among his teachers one who plied him with sarcasm and ridicule because he was somewhat

slow of wit. "It would have helped" he wrote in his diary, "if this teacher had joined a bit of gentleness to his scorching severity." Gabriel benefited greatly from this bitter experience. He who was such a disappointing pupil was to be a patient, sympathetic and beloved teacher. He had learned that gentleness and patience in the classroom, the pulpit or the confessional, would win more souls than sarcasm or outbursts of anger.

In September 1921, Mr. Zema began his course of philosophy. The new Philosophate being built at Weston, Massachussetts, was not yet ready, so for three months All Souls' Chapel at St. Andrew was turned into a classroom. But in December the parting came. It was difficult to say good-bye to St. Andrew's. For a while, at least, the monotony of the Novitiate and the bitterness of the Juniorate were forgotten in the pain and sorrow of leaving. After all, it was here that the Society of Jesus had welcomed him; here that he had seen the Lord and learned to walk in His footsteps. And it was here that he had vowed to be ever true to Mary and to his vocation. Now he must go. For the first time he felt the sting of that rule which tells us that it is according to our vocation to travel to various places and to live in any part of the world.

Mr. Zema spent the first two years of philosophy in Weston, the third in Woodstock, Maryland. About this period we know little. Even his diary has nothing of note to tell us. He conducted a class for those wishing to learn Italian. He directed the Dante Academy. He was faithful in his study of philosophy, but he was not particularly devoted to it. When his course of philosophy was completed, Mr. Zema was sent to teach at Regis High School in New York City. He was to spend in all seventeen years at Regis, two as a scholastic and fifteen as a priest. His name was to be indelibly linked with Regis. He was a veritable dynamo, seemingly tireless. During his regency, besides his regular duties as teacher, he took upon himself many other assignments. The Regis Library, the Guard of Honor, and, above all, the Regis Alumni Association owe more to him than to anyone else. His zeal, patience and charity won for him countless friends. Long, long afterwards, when his boys had grown up and were successful business men, lawyers, judges, doctors, priests, religious, they were to write back to

him and tell him how much his guidance and friendship had helped them. "You were the best teacher I ever had" wrote one lad, now a priest. "No one helped me with my moral and religious problems as much as you did" wrote another. And still another wrote that "Your patience and friendly interest in me while I was a student at Regis helped me to avoid many grave pitfalls and helped to steer me into the seminary." The litany of praise is endless. The number of those whom he had helped is legion.

In 1926, Mr. Zema went back to Woodstock to begin his theological studies. The long-desired goal of his ordination to the Sacred Priesthood was drawing nearer. The vision of that blessed day inspired and sustained him in every difficulty. After the turmoil and distractions of a busy regency, he settled down to the quiet monotony of the classroom once again. He became just another figure in that long black line that marched silently in and out of chapel, classroom and dining room, day after day. Nothing extraordinary is recorded of him while at Woodstock. He corresponded with the boys he had taught at Regis, guiding them by remote control. Letter-writing was to be one of his many apostolates, and among his belongings when he died were found hundreds of letters he had received from friends and relatives. They reveal the boundless zeal and charity of this tireless man and the great sense of gratitude and affection which his great army of friends had for him. He opened his heart to all. He treasured the friendship and respect of all. But as these letters reveal, most precious of all were the friendship and loyalty of his beloved Father William Walsh, S.J., of Miss Louise Rossi, his teacher at the Mission School of our Lady of Loreto, and of his Jesuit brother, Demetrio, and his two sisters, Theresa and Rose. He was, of course, devoted to his saintly mother, who departed this life in July, 1943, and never ceased to pray for his alienated father. It was one of the happiest days of Father Zema's life when he learned that shortly before his death in 1944, he had repented his stubborn objection to Gabriel's vocation and made his peace with God. Many sorrows cast their shadows on his life, but he was in shadow and sunshine always a cheerful servant, a generous son of the Society and a faithful friend to all.

Finally the day of days arrived, and Father Zema was ordained by Archbishop Michael Curley of Baltimore in the Woodstock College Chapel, on June 23, 1929. I don't suppose anyone has ever adequately grasped the rich beauty and deep significance of Ordination, especially at Woodstock. It defies description. For the newly-ordained and for his family and friends, Ordination day is indeed the "*Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus.*" On the occasion of his first Vows Brother Zema had written in his diary that he was deeply moved with gratitude to God and could not restrain his tears of joy.

The years from his ordination to his death must have gone by very fast for Father Zema. He himself was always in a hurry. He was never able to catch up with the things he wanted to do. In 1930 he was sent to Rome for his Tertianship. He was delighted as it gave him a chance to see with his own eyes all the glory that was Rome. He had an opportunity to visit Florence, the birthplace of his beloved Dante. He went down to see his humble birthplace, Arno, nestling in the rugged mountains of Calabria, where he celebrated Mass in the little church in which he had been baptized forty years before. He looked up members of his father's family still living in Arno, and no doubt, tried in vain to convince them that the streets of New York were not paved with gold. This stay in Italy, moreover, gave him an opportunity to tighten his hold on the Italian language, for while he never spoke Italian fluently it did help him immensely with his parlor duty at Nativity Parish, where he was stationed for three years, and in giving retreats to nuns who understood only Italian.

Priestly Activity

His Tertianship over, Father Zema's first assignment as a priest was to Nativity Parish, on the Lower East Side of New York. In those days, the Parish was predominantly Italian with a goodly sprinkling of Irish and Central Europeans. Having grown up on the East Side himself, Father "Gabe" knew the problems that tortured these people. Poverty, ignorance and indifference were prevalent. The depression was on. It was a difficult field to work in, but Father Zema, young and full of zeal, threw himself into the work with all his energy. He loved his fellow Italians; he defended them against calum-

niators and proselytizers; he sought to help them in every way. He revamped the activities of the Barat Settlement, founded many years before by Father Walsh, to offset the lure of Protestant Settlement Houses. He organized the Bellarmine Club for young men attending High School and College, and trained them to learn, love and defend their precious Catholic Faith. Thirty years after, the names of Father Dominic Cirigliano, who was the most loved of Nativity Pastors and of Father Zema, one of its most energetic curates, are held in benediction by thousands of former parishioners. They both did a remarkable job in protecting and strengthening the faith of their flock.

Father Zema spent only three years at Nativity Parish. After a year at Brooklyn Prep as Student Counselor, he returned to Regis, where he was to stay for fifteen years as teacher, moderator of several organizations, and where he was to endear himself to hundreds of Regis Graduates as the Moderator of the Regis Alumni Association. Father Zema brought much interest and energy with him, and the Regis Alumni Association became one of the most dynamic groups of its kind. He was not the first or the only one to see in an Alumni Association a great potential for good, especially to their school, but he talked and wrote about this, and several articles he published were instrumental in giving many moribund Alumni groups a needed shot in the arm. It was, therefore, to the great regret of all that in 1950, because of failing health, superiors removed him from his Alumni work and appointed him a member of the Jesuit Mission and Retreat Band. He was to do much good in this new field of labor. Searching through his letters, I came across numerous instances where people wrote to thank him for the help and inspiration they had received from sermons he preached or retreats he gave. With every passing year he could more truly make his own those words of St. Paul: "I have made myself all things to all men, that I might win all for Christ."

Early in 1948, Father Zema suffered one of the greatest losses of his life; his brother Father Demetrio Zema died, after only a short illness. A truly exquisite and Christ-like friendship had always existed between these two brothers. Mutual love and respect kept them very close to each other. When

therefore, Father Demetrio died in Febuary of 1948, it was a severe blow to his younger priest-brother. Hundreds of letters expressing sympathy poured in from all parts of the country and from abroad, where Demetrio had studied and made many friends. Thirteen years later, on the same day, February 1st, his other brother, Ernest, died suddenly of a heart attack. This, too, was a severe blow to him, and it can be said that Gabriel never really fully recovered from this shock. Sorrow was building the bridge from which he was soon to pass over to the other side of the Valley.

But there were many happy days in Father Gabriel's life, and perhaps one of the happiest was the 25th anniversary of his ordination to the Sacred Priesthood. For that occasion, celebrated in June 1954, his friends rallied from everywhere. They were genuinely proud of their Father "Gabe." They poured their praise lavishly on him and he was extremely happy for their friendship and for their expression of gratitude. He had always been a priest after the heart and spirit of Christ. He had been the embodiment of what a Jesuit should be. He had been an understanding friend, a patient teacher, a gentle confessor. His admirers from all over wrote or told him these things. There were many other pleasant compliments, but we will conclude with the brief eulogy of his then Superior at Inisfada, Father Michael Clark.

"As you look back," Father Clark reminded him, "over your twenty-five years of priestly life, you have every right to take a just pride in your priestly activities. Yours has been a truly edifying and zealous life as a priest and as a Jesuit. And it can justly be said of you: 'Well done, good and faithful servant.' " All present must have seen in these words a just appraisal of a life completely dedicated to his religious vocation.

Five years more were given to Father Zema. These were spent in semi-retirement on Welfare Island, on New York's East River, where he assisted Father Joseph McGowan, the Chaplain of Coler Memorial Hospital. These years were interrupted several times by visits to the hospital for various ailments. Early in July of 1959, Father began to complain of severe pains in the stomach and back. It was an old complaint. This time he was taken to St. Vincent's Hospital in New York

City. He received the best of medical care; he constantly praised the doctors and nurses who took care of him. His courage and good humor never left him, even when pain caused him to wince and medication made him drowsy. He had suffered much, but the end came quietly and quickly. Shortly after noon, on August 12th, the Master called him, and he who like Zaccheus was little of stature, but great of heart and soul, opened his eyes to see His merciful Lord and to hear Him say: "This day is salvation come to you, because you have been a true son of Ignatius."

Brother Michael J. Walsh

William J. Hoar, S.J.

At St. Peter's Preparatory School in Jersey City, with the approach of the Novena of Grace in 1962, some of us looked toward St. Francis Xavier with a quizzical eye. Fr. Daniel Hart had to be rushed to the hospital in 1960 just as he was about to give the opening Novena service. He died March 9. In 1961 Fr. John Hooper died on March 18, after finishing his strenuous share of the Novena work, without apparent warning of impending death. But the greatest shock to the Community and people was the unexpected death of an even younger Jesuit, our beloved Sacristan, Bro. Michael J. Walsh. At the age of forty-four, after only one week in St. Francis Hospital, Jersey City, Brother died in the early morning of March 9, 1961, assisted during the last few days by his older brother, Fr. Maurice Walsh, priest of the New York Archdiocese.

Michael Walsh was born September 5, 1916, in lower Manhattan in a neighborhood called Chelsea, of Irish immigrant parents, Daniel and Ellen Duggan Walsh.[1] His father earned his living on the waterfront. As a child he was easy going, generous and good-natured, preferring to lose a game rather than fight or argue over it. In the way of food and material things he was readily satisfied. He was obedient and serene, and caused his parents not the faintest anxiety.

He attended St. Columba's School, being taught in the lower grades by the Sisters of Charity and in the upper grades by the Christian Brothers. He enrolled in Haaren High School, taking a business course. He would walk the five miles from home to school and back, partly because he enjoyed walking and partly to save the expense to his family—it was the time of the Depression. After school he did clerical work at St.

[1] For the story of Brother's life before entering the Society, we are indebted to his sister, Julia (Mrs. Edward Murphy).

Columba's Rectory, where, too, he spent much of his free time. On leaving high school, he held a fine position as secretary with a Fifth Avenue luggage firm. He liked his work and was highly regarded, but he gave it up to act as sexton and sacristan at St. Columba's from 1935 to 1937.

Novitiate at Wernersville

His heart was set upon the religious life and, in September 1937, he became a Coadjutor Brother postulant at the Wernersville Novitiate. It was out of humility that he chose to be a Brother. Priests, he considered, were glorified and rewarded by saying Mass; he wanted to serve God in his own humble way, without glory. After the first vows he was assigned to secretarial and library work at Wernersville. Three years later he was transferred to St. Andrew-on-Hudson with the same assignment.

Life's Work at St. Peter's

But all of this was a prelude and a preparation for his seventeen arduous years of service at St. Peter's on Grand Street. Concerning this period, we turn first to the tribute paid Brother by his first Rector at St. Peter's, Rev. Vincent J. Hart, S. J.:

> Brother Walsh came to St. Peter's as a young Brother from St. Andrew and continued till his death to be a truly dedicated follower of St. Alphonsus Rodriguez. He had many points of excellence not the least of which was his devotion to the sanctuary at St. Peter's. He was prayerfully attentive to our dear Lord and the Blessed Sacrament and meticulous in keeping the altar and the church as a fitting tribute to his Sacramental Lord. He had the rare gift in a man of decorating the altar with distinction and of arranging the flowers with a truly artistic touch.
>
> He was a zealous worker. In my five years of association with him he never whimpered, was never too busy, was never late and never failed in performing the arduous duties of a very busy church.
>
> We have had few Brothers in the Province in the last fifty years who were as skillful as Brother Walsh in handling and training altar boys. He gave to each boy the love of our dear Lord in the sanctuary which he himself had so abundantly.
>
> Brother Walsh's contribution to the community at St. Peter's was a varied one. With Brother Burke, he willingly volunteered to do any household chore in any emergency. He added to the religious spirit

of St. Peter's not a little by the manner of his willingness to serve table, take care of the phone, entertain visitors, run parties in the parochial school, supervise the cafeteria—all in addition to his long hours of consecrated work.

Brother Walsh was respected by the parishioners at St. Peter's and by the people of Jersey City who came to the old or to the new Church. I have a feeling a great number of people in Jersey loved St. Peter's the more because Brother Walsh was always available.

He was, in very truth, a Brother after the heart of St. Ignatius.

Brother Claude Birch, contemporary to Brother Walsh at Wernersville, recalls his quick adjustment to religious life, his lively sense of humor and rugged good health; that he was systematic and efficient in his work and had the knack of enlisting cooperation from the rest of the Brothers. As Brother Birch put it, "Everyone pitched in and helped him cheerfully because it was a pleasure to work with Brother Walsh."

Every age group at St. Peter's experienced the same pleasure in working with Brother Walsh, those directly under his charge, the ushers, Sanctuary Society and altar boys, as well as parishioners and friends called upon in emergencies and for special projects. Consciously or not, they observed that he sought their help, not to be boss, but to be free to work harder and more efficiently himself.

In personal appearance and characteristics, Brother "Mike" was tall and of soldierly bearing, sharp-featured, with black hair well turned to grey, a "black" Irishman with ready laughter, and a big wide heart for anyone in distress. Perpetually in motion, he had a bustling dignity that was never officious. Because he was so friendly and sympathetic, he knew more people and more about their needs and ills than most parish priests.

If mottoes were carved on Jesuits' tombstones, Brother Walsh's should be *Totus ad laborem*, not for any unfinished business, but for his driving spirit in life. I knew Brother more than half his earthly life, and if he could not picture himself as *insignis* (a Hero in the Society), he wanted and did "give it all he had" from the day he entered.

A mother, with the steady light and power of quiet, invincible faith, and three devoted sisters, idolized and inspired

Brother Walsh's workaday life from the stage wings. But two or three persons probably gave a certain direction to his choice of vocation and its energetic, unselfish fulfillment. In matters of religious principle, Brother often cited his Novice-Master, Father John V. McEvoy, for his sincere and broad charity. Then it seems obvious that Brother should have given early consideration to following in his brother's footsteps, for Father Maurice Walsh was in the Seminary during Mike's years of decision, during which he chose a business course in High School and spent two years as quasi-Sacristan, his ultimate life's work. As his sister said, he decided that he could give himself entirely to God without the glory and the spiritual responsibility of the priesthood.

Another Maurice, of saintly memory, Brother Burke, had more influence than anyone else on Brother Walsh in his years at St. Peter's. To "Mike," Brother Burke was companion and counsellor, exemplar and patron saint, and after Brother Burke's death, he assumed all he could of his dear friend's unlisted apostolic labors and charities. This drew him closer to an unusual apostle of the sea, Mario Violini, protégé of Cardinal Pizzardo, and benefactor of every needy Religious Community in the ports of call of the American Export Line. All his salary goes to charity and he has transmitted an incredible amount from generous America to the poor and needy of Italy and even to India. To Mario, Brothers Burke and Walsh were as blood brothers, and he, in turn, a man of like heart and mind.

Brother Walsh's friends, especially contemporaries among the Brothers, wondered at the suddenness of his death. Sometime in his youth, Mike Walsh had his nose broken and it never did receive the special attention it should have, probably because he himself underestimated its seriousness. As a result he was constantly subject to extensive hemorrhaging even from head colds. The man who cared for Brother's room said that for two years or more Brother's pillow and bed-linen were frequently blood-stained. And it is a fact that he was always alarmingly pale, and often went about his work with packing to stop the nosebleed.

There are of course occupational hazards in every work or profession. The demolition and replacement of St. Peter's

Civil War Church took three years, cost $400,000, and incidentally contributed to the death of Brother Walsh. While Church services were held in the Parish Hall, Brother had to make endless trips back and forth each day from the Rectory to the School in all sorts of weather. The new Church was opened for Christmas and dedicated in January, 1961, but some work was still to be done on it. Escaping steam filled the stairwell leading from the Rectory to the Sacristy for several days. The windows had to be left open though it was still winter.

Working in these conditions brought on an unusually heavy cold and a nosebleed that Brother could not stop. Our house doctor gave him first aid and told him he must get to the hospital immediately. At St. Francis Hospital the bleeding was brought under control, but unfortunately Brother had aspirated some of the blood, causing a fatal type of pneumonia. Delirium ensued and still we could hardly believe that he would not recover. The end came suddenly a week after he entered the hospital.

The people of St. Peter's filled the new Church in eloquent tribute of grief and affection at his Funeral Mass, and again for his anniversary. Too long to quote are the letters of condolence which His Eminence Cardinal Pizzardo sent to Brother Walsh's mother and to Father Morris, Rector of St. Peter's. The poor of his diocese of Albano, had been beneficiaries of many charitable clothes' collections, etc. from Brothers Burke and Walsh. There is a good argument *ex convenientia* that God will find in Heaven a busy intercessory task for both of these Brothers, so devoted to His service on earth, and another argument *ex caritate* that we remember them.

Father James U. Conwell

James E. Murphy, S.J.

When Father James U. Conwell died of cancer in Spokane, Washington, on July 12, 1960, Alaska lost one of her most active and hard-working missionaries. Yet Father Conwell seldom sloshed through tundra or fought his way to lonely outposts as the other missionaries: his days as a missionary were spent almost entirely behind a desk. But in his desk work he was just as earnest and devoted, and just as invaluable for the Alaska missions. He was—as he so aptly called himself—Alaska's "desk missionary." And his work was doubtless just as acceptable to God, Who called him after only twelve years in Alaska, in the forty-seventh year of his life.

James Urban Conwell was born in the small northeastern Washington town of Chewelah, July 30, 1912, to James and Gertrude (O'Malley) Conwell. His father died in 1918, and the following summer Mrs. Conwell moved with her young family to Spokane, some sixty miles to the south. James had attended his first year of school while still in Chewelah, and spent his next seven years of grade school in Catholic schools in Spokane. His first close contact with the Society came with his enrollment at Gonzaga High School in the fall of 1926. It was during these next four years, as he watched his Jesuit teachers at first hand, that the desire to be one of them became ever more strong.

His wish was realized as he walked through the door of Sacred Heart Novitiate, Los Gatos, California, on July 15, 1930, a short month after his high school graduation. The following summer his peculiar knack for getting into the midst of historic moves first showed itself. He learned that he was going to head northward, along with eleven other pioneer Novices, to found the Novitiate for the newly formed Oregon Province. The spot that the Superiors picked for the new Novitiate was near Sheridan, Oregon, a small, sleepy town about fifty miles southwest of Portland. This new place

had been a farm, and a farm it remained when its twelve new tenants arrived on July 29, 1931. The only change on the premises was the addition of a frame bungalow hastily thrown up to provide a roof over the heads of the pioneers. The "Twelve Apostles" (as they came to be called) could see immediately that there was more than a little work ahead of them on this new frontier. Chopping and hauling wood, prune picking and drying, and heavy-duty field work all became the order of the day for the next twelve months.

With Vows, the rough first year at the "outpost" came to an end. As there were no classrooms or teachers at Sheridan yet, Mister Conwell and the other new Juniors had to be on the move again. So they climbed into the back of a dilapidated truck for a five-hundred mile trek halfway across the spacious Province, this time to Mt. St. Michael's Philosophate in Spokane. The new building at Sheridan was ready a year later, so Bro. Conwell headed back in the summer of 1933 for his second year Juniorate—and his last as a pioneer.

After a hectic but happy first four years, Conwell finally came to a halt at Mt. St. Michael's for three years of philosophy, 1934-1937. For his regency he came back to his old Alma Mater, Gonzaga High School, from 1937-1940. He took his theology at Alma College, near his starting point of some ten years earlier. He was beadle during his second year theology, and was selected for the Defense of Dogmatic Theology. He was ordained priest by Archbishop J. J. Mitty in San Francisco on June 12, 1943.

At the end of theology, in 1944, Father Conwell found himself on the other side of his Juniorate desk, as he was assigned to teach Latin and Greek at Sheridan during the school year of 1944-1945. He spent the next year in tertianship at Port Townsend, Washington.

The pivot point of his life came at the end of tertianship when he learned that he was to be Chancellor to the Bishop at Juneau, Alaska. Arriving at the great Northland, he assumed his post as secretary under Bishop Walter Fitzgerald, S. J. A year later, the Bishop died, and Father Conwell stayed on with the new Vicar, Bishop Francis D. Gleeson, S. J.

The next five years were interesting and busy ones for Father Conwell. It was during this time that he firmly

established himself as a desk missionary, and became the man behind the scenes in the great drama of Alaskan missionary activity. With the exception of one year (1949) spent in Portland at the Oregon Province Headquarters, he was at his desk in Juneau, handling all the bookwork for Bishop Gleeson in his directing of the Vicariate.

In 1951, Father Conwell's ability for getting in on the pioneer moves again came to the fore. It was then that the southeastern part of the Vicariate of Alaska was raised to the rank of diocese. On October 3, 1951, Bishop Gleeson consecrated Fr. Dermot O'Flanagan as Bishop, and installed him in the new Diocese of Juneau soon after. For Father Conwell, the division of the Vicariate meant "many headaches and much packing." Bishop Gleeson's headquarters had to be moved northward to the new residence at Fairbanks, while the new Bishop took over the old place at Juneau. But despite the complicated job of moving, Father Conwell was well pleased with the long-awaited change and Juneau's new Bishop. He reveals his mind—and a clear insight into the cheerful side of his character—in a letter to someone in the "outside world" written at this time: "We were all very happy at Bishop O'Flanagan's appointment. He is a real Alaskan, having been pastor of Anchorage for eighteen years, so he understands Alaska and the problems of its people. He's a splendid man—has all the good qualities of a native-born Irishman and none of the faults of the same!"

Fairbanks, a distance of some 750 miles northwest of Juneau, remained Father Conwell's home until 1958, the longest time he spent at one place in all his years in the Society. And it was here that he accomplished most of his apostolic work. At Fairbanks he was living in the real north country, where he could have closer contact with the needs of the missionaries and their flocks. Though his work forced him to remain strictly a desk missionary, Father was able to devote more of his time to helping others. Much of this time he spent working with the young people of Fairbanks and helping them with their various problems.

Another activity that took up much of his time at Fairbanks, and throughout all his days as a desk missionary, was untangling bad marriages and striving to prevent divorces. As

Chancellor, it was part of his job to handle the endless paper work connected with these marriage difficulties. In many of his letters he mentioned that marriage cases persisted in forming the greater part of the problems that he met with in that northern corner of the world. But on the other hand, he found real relief in working with the Eskimos and Indians, and was consoled by the fact that they are free of many of the troubles that the white man possesses. "Fortunately," he writes, "the Eskimos are not sufficiently 'advanced' to get into too many of these difficulties."

In the winter of 1955, Father Conwell sat in on a meeting of various missionaries whom Bishop Gleeson had called together to discuss the opening of a new mission station at Copper Valley. At this meeting, they decided that historic Holy Cross Mission, founded in 1888 on the Yukon River in southwest Alaska, was too remote and inaccessible for modern needs, so the new mission of Copper Center would take its place. Copper is located nearer the heart of Alaska, and can be reached by highway—a luxury as well as a necessity in Alaska. Thus Father Conwell, finding himself once more in the middle of an historic change, witnessed the veritable close of the era of the "dogsled apostles," and the ushering in of the new age of the "truckrollers."

As the building operations got under way, he remained at his desk in the Chancery Office. And there he stayed for three more years. During this time Father John Buchanan, assisted by another courageous missionary, Father James Spils, was in charge of the complicated process of constructing a large, sturdy mission. But it was becoming increasingly obvious that the two men were getting swamped under their burdens. By 1958, Bishop Gleeson realized that something must be done, yet he knew that the Vicariate was hard-pressed for priests and there were none to spare. So the Bishop had to compromise, and in the process double the work of his own right hand man. On July 1, 1958, Father Conwell took over as superior of Copper Valley, and at the same time kept his job of Chancellor to the Bishop.

Father's hours were now more occupied than ever before. To his regular load of work as Chancellor were added the manifold tasks of running a full-sized mission complete with

its own grade school and high school. He was faced with the job of organizing not just on a day to day basis, but also with an eye upon the distant horizon.

However, Father Conwell was at his new post for only a short time when he began to cope with problems other than those of organization. One morning at Mass his server noticed Father was shaking badly. His condition grew steadily worse during the morning, so he was to be rushed by car to the nearest hospital, either in Anchorage, 194 miles away, or in Fairbanks, some 250 miles. In either case it was a long ride over a rough mountain road. A few miles from the mission Father asked if he could come back to pick up his breviary which he had forgotten. This proved very providential, for at his arrival he learned that a bush pilot was warming up a plane for him at an airfield just ten miles away. Thus began a painful flight, and a much more painful bout with sickness for Father Conwell.

The trouble was diagnosed in Seattle in July, 1958. He had cancer in one of his kidneys. The malignant kidney was removed, and after recuperating for a brief time, Father returned in the first half of September to continue his work at his Copper Valley desk.

As those near him at Copper soon found out, Father's illness had not at all restricted his ability to work and get things done. One of the Scholastics who served under him at this time remarked how Father's desk was perpetually in a state of turmoil. Yet, when some information was asked of him, he would reach into the conglomeration and immediately flip out the answer. This was typical of Father Conwell, the man with the messy desk and the well-ordered mind. And this orderly mind, along with his determination, helped to bring more order into the lives of those living at the flourishing mission. The remarkable effects were felt and mentioned not only by the Jesuit Regents and the Sisters of St. Anne, but even by the lay apostle teachers and workers, who had come to play an important role in Copper Valley School. His successor, Father Frank Fallert, observed how his own job had been made easier due to the fine organization instilled by Father Conwell.

In the spring of 1959, Father went back to Seattle for a check-up on his condition, and discovered that the cancer had

not been contained, but had spread to his other kidney. He knew then that this would inevitably lead to his death.

That God's will might be done, whether for better or worse, Bishop Gleeson authorized a novena, which was spread throughout the whole of Alaska, the Oregon Province, and to the various lay apostles who had since returned to their homes in the States. The novena began July 30, 1959—Father Conwell's birthday—and ended on the first Friday of August.

It soon became apparent what God's will would be. With the aid of his brother, Father Joseph Conwell of Gonzaga University, he returned briefly to Alaska. He returned not to stay, but rather to straighten out his books and close up his affairs.

Father then moved to Spokane, where he could be close to his mother, a sister, and his priest brother. But by no means did he waste his few remaining days, for as long as he was able, he lent a helping hand in the office work at Gonzaga University. And like Father Dan Lord, who happily travelled the same road to his death some five years earlier, Father Conwell kept up his correspondence to the end, bringing aid to the souls of others and helping them to solve their problems.

He would not spare himself, but neither would time, and before long time took its course. Soon he was bed-ridden except for saying Mass, but after awhile this too was beyond his strength. With permission from Rome, Christmas of 1959 found him celebrating Mass while sitting down. By the middle of May Father was permanently confined to bed, and from then on he began to fail rapidly. In the afternoon of July 11, his mother sensed a rapid turn for the worse. His brother annointed him the next morning, and soon after, at about 6:00 a.m., he passed quietly to his eternal rest.

Father James Conwell did not spend a great many years on this earth, but the time that was allotted to him he used profitably. His life was characterized by a strange combination of front-lines activity and behind-the-scenes work, all of which he himself summed up when he called himself the "desk missionary." With his ability to organize and his dedication to the job God had given him, he accomplished a great deal for the Alaska missions and their people.

Books of Interest to Ours

JESUITS IN CHINA

Generation of Giants. *By George H. Dunne, S.J.* Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962. Pp. 389. $5.75.

A benevolent Providence or a unique convection of circumstances has provided this reviewer with the challenge of presenting to bibliophiles, world-outlook thinkers and anxious seekers of deeper perspectives a significant segment of the theology of history, an exciting apostolic drama of the China that was, and a trenchant insight into a problem that is as ever old and as ever new as christendom itself. The reviewer has been familiar with the author and with his chef d'oeuvre both here and in China for a quarter of a century.

Frequently a writer researches his project and then from some antecedent, essentialistic framework proceeds to structure his facts and opinions in some fluid sequence. Not so with Father Dunne's *Generation of Giants.* Years of walking in the footsteps of these Giants in China, more years of intense research at the University of Chicago, and mellowing months of sharpening final perspectives from the study of Roman archives have wonderfully prepared the author to write the quasi-definitive condensed history of the Jesuit missionaries in China in the last decades of the Ming dynasty, 1575-1700. More extensive data on this period will be uncovered by the march of scholarship but such data will have to polarize around this scholarly work.

A pedestrian outline of the contents of this study would be equivalent to a demeaning book report. The élan, the integrating factor, the challenge of this work wells up from the historical facts themselves and from the vision of those Giants who created this history. The dynamic, existential meaning of universalism, accommodation, Christian leaven and inter-cultural sublimation is presented by Father Dunne with a high degree of subjectivity and empathy, with a colorful felicity of expression, and with restrained satire in treating those situations when lilliputians so often hampered the work of these Giants.

The prologue and epilogue of this work are relatively priceless. They might, indeed should, form the guidelines for Peace Corps orientation and that inter-cultural understanding so desperately needed in today's world.

JOHN J. O'FARRELL, S.J.

PHILOSOPHIA PERENNIS IN THE MARKETPLACE

The Integrating Mind. *By William F. Lynch, S.J.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962. Pp. 181. $3.95.

Reading Father Lynch's book, I was constantly reminded of Chesterton's great myth of the men who set about fixing the lamp post by sitting down to a philosophical discussion on the nature of light. If that procedure seemed paradoxical to the leisurely Chestertonian age, it is no less

than exasperating to our gin-and-aspirin civilization. And yet, it is right; it must be done.

Long ago when we studied metaphysics, we used to dream of the day when we should bring our true philosophy into the marketplace, when we should apply the eternal principles of metaphysics to the warped practical world. We grow old, and the "professional" philosophers go on telling us it is impossible, but Father Lynch (like the Marines) has been doing the job. Even more than *Christ and Apollo*, this is a philosophical book. It is built on the doctrine of the analogy of being, and the analogy of being is, by all odds, the grandest of those metaphysical truths which need to be shouted in the marketplace. Aristotelians and Thomists (and so, Catholic intellectuals) must realize that they can contribute nothing to the intellectual dialogue outside of the framework of the analogy of being. We simply have no honest right posing, as we sometimes do, as terribly interested in the idealistic, or existential, or pragmatic metaphysics. We are dualists. We are analogists. Our theology, our art, our education (when it is not merely big-business), our sociology, science, and all the rest—it is built on a metaphysic of analogy and it is high time for our intellectuals to realize that this is the world-view, above everything else, that we may contribute to modern thought.

Father Lynch offers us here a series of essays brilliantly analyzing the "contraries" which stem from being and non-being and confront thought or mind wherever it attempts to integrate its experience. All of man's experience is rooted in change—in the confusing aspect of "the many" in one form or another. Thus, time-eternity, freedom-law, individual-community, finite-infinite are, with the aid of Plato's *Parmenides*, masterfully grasped as "contraries," not contradictories. Moreover, the author is eminently successful in the practical demonstration of his thesis that these contraries are constantly active in world affairs, and that the mind must not attempt, in these conflicts, to seek univocal solutions. There is no absolute accept-and-reject course to be followed in these matters. A Christian has the task of going to God through the immensely entangling ways of time and space. He must accept the contrary and all of teeming life with it, with a fully inward and joyous realization that he is thus only accepting himself as God made him, and accepting God's world of myriad change and confusion as he experiences it.

In essay after essay Father Lynch surveys the practical problems of the modern intellectual world and subjects them to this metaphysical principle of analogy. Our American democratic ideal *vs* totalitarianism, our acceptance of law *vs* our passion for liberty, our independence *vs* community rights, our education, and finally, our sanctification as free, loving beings in absolute surrender to an infinite loving God—these become rich and exciting explorations in the light of the Christian analogy.

This is a strong book. It seems to me to be better, in essence, than *Christ and Apollo*, insofar as Father Lynch is surer and richer in his grasp of analogy than he is in his analysis of metaphor. This is strange,

since metaphor is the supreme literary manifestation of this very Parmenidean doctrine of contraries. It is strange too in the light of Father Lynch's deep and lasting concern for literature and the drama. But he is essentially a philosopher, and the essays on "The American Adam" and "Theology and Human Sensibility" in this book are outstanding.

Father Lynch is an expert in this "image industry" of selling the Word, and no doubt knows his audience, but I was one reader who felt the lack of clear progression of thought in the book. The appendix (in an entirely different style) no doubt marks the author's deepest penetration into the thought of Plato, and the foundation for the book, but it is not placed or expounded in such a way as to be much direct help to a reader who is not disposed to grant the inevitable metaphysical principle of the contrary. No doubt, the synthetic approach has its advantages, too. At any rate, it is a heartening experience to read the *philosophia perennis* so freshly and forcefully written in this full spirited engagement with every phase of the modern intellectual debate.

LEONARD A. WATERS, S.J.

JUSTLY CELEBRATED

The Bible, Word of God in Words of Men. *By Jean Levie, S.J.* Translated by S. H. Treman. New York: Kenedy, 1962. Pp. x-323. $7.50.

Branded by an influential Roman monsignor as a "tremendously subversive" book ("tremendamente eversivo," see A. Romeo, "L'enciclica 'Divino afflante Spiritu' e le 'opiniones novae,'" *Divinitas* 4 [1960] 385-456, especially p. 144, n. 130), the justly celebrated volume of Père Jean Levie (*La Bible, parole humaine et message de Dieu*) appears now in English dress. It is noteworthy that the English translation bears a Westminster (London) *imprimatur* (dated 14 July 1961), which is explained on the back of the frontispiece as a "declaration that a book or pamphlet is considered to be free from doctrinal or moral error." This significant fact should come as a surprise to the Roman monsignor.

In the recent public attack on the Jesuits of the Pontifical Biblical Institute by Romeo, Levie was made out to be the teacher of one of its young Spanish professors (*op. cit.*, p. 395). That his influence was pernicious was supposed to be shown by various quotations from the book—wrenched, to be sure, from their context. The Biblical Institute, in its public reply to Romeo, juxtaposed the monsignor's accusations and the original statements of Levie (see "Pontificium Institutum Biblicum et recens libellus R.mi D.ni A. Romeo," *Verbum domini* 39 [1961] 3-17), that the truth might appear.

A summary of significant reviews of this book has already been presented by the reviewer in a report on the Roman Scriptural controversy (*Theological Studies* 22 [1961] 435, n. 10)—a summary reproduced by the publisher on the book-jacket. It is by no means a complete survey of estimates, but it does substantiate the judgment that this book is "justly celebrated."

Levie is a New Testament exegete, professor emeritus at the Collège

Philosophique et Théologique S. J. de Louvain (Eegenhoven, Belgium). He has been a contemporary of many of the events and developments of the modern Catholic biblical movement and writes out of his long experience. The chief merit of his book lies in the contribution which it makes to the understanding of the *changes* in modern Catholic exegesis. For he tries to give a much-needed historical perspective to the new developments and to show how the great archeological developments of the last century opened up previously unknown areas of influence on both the Old Testament and the New Testament. On the other hand, he tries to account for a more profound understanding of the nature of inspiration and its bearing on exegesis. Part I deals with the progress in history and biblical exegesis 1850-1960. In it he sketches the course of the great excavations, the trends in liberal Protestant and Catholic exegesis as a result of them, the effect of the encyclical of Leo XIII (*Providentissimus Deus*), and finally the liberating effect of the positively orientated encyclical of Pius XII (*Divino afflante Spiritu*). In Part II Levie takes up the effect of all this on inspiration and Catholic exegesis today. The book attempts to answer many of the questions which educated Catholics have today about the Bible and the progress of biblical science. It is a "must" for priests ordained before 1950, for it attempts to explain in what the changes introduced by the encyclical of Pius XII (1943) consist. The end of Part I is especially valuable, since it is an extended commentary on the encyclical of Pius XII and tries to point out in greater detail the reasons for the positions assumed in it.

The general perspective adopted by Levie is well founded; however, there are times when even better examples from modern discoveries could have been chosen to attain his purpose. But his exposé retains its validity none the less. The translator has produced in general a readable English text. It is unfortunate, however, that someone acquainted with the English terminology of the archeological discoveries and other biblical expressions did not tidy up the English text. In many cases the French spelling of topographical or personal names has been retained (e.g., Beth Sames for Beth Shemesh on p. 19; Djezer on p. 18, 93; Boghaz-Keui on p. 88, n. 24; Yeshoue on p. 98; etc., etc.). There is also a host of typographical errors in the book, a careless neglect of German Umlauts, and occasionally wrong translations (e.g., on p. 151 read "The philological study of the text" instead of "The philosophical study. . . ."). These are, however, minor points which probably will not distract the ordinary reader, but this should be pointed out in case the book may be cited without consultation of the original.

Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J.

CATHOLICS IN THE REVOLUTION

Catholics and the American Revolution. *By Charles H. Metzger, S.J.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962. Pp. xii—306. $5.00.

Father Metzger's long-awaited analysis of the role of American Catholics in the Revolutionary War is an impressive book. It is a realistic study, written in the conviction that only honest history can provide a

true basis for accurate understanding of the forces that contributed to the shaping of the nation. In terms which are vivid and yet measured and always meticulously documented, the author depicts the suspicion-charged atmosphere of fear, hatred and persecution in which the Catholics of British North America lived prior to 1774. He then sketches the story of the Quebec Act and the violent anti-Catholic reaction to it in the Atlantic colonies. The official attitude of the Continenal Congress veered in the direction of tolerance once the war had begun and the desirability of enlisting the help of the Canadians, French and Spanish was realized, but even this law of necessity was not enough to convert all, or even most, of the bigots who abounded in the colonies. Only an occasional individual like George Washington stands out by contrast against the general background of intolerance, especially on the part of the Protestant clergy. Others like John Adams adopted an ambivalent attitude and still others maintained a discreet silence, but there was little in the politico-religious climate of the new nation to compel the loyalty of its Catholic citizens.

Two chapters are devoted to the only substantial Catholic communities in the thirteen colonies, those in Maryland and Pennsylvania. The sad fate of religious toleration in Maryland after its auspicious beginnings is narrated, and the happier picture in Pennsylvania explained. In this connection, Father Metzger has made good use of the virtually untapped resources in the archives of the Maryland Province, which are housed at Woodstock College. His omission of any mention of the Catholic settlement at Conewago is surprising. Catholicism was introduced to that area of Pennsylvania several decades before the Revolution, and the section is still nearly one-hundred per cent Catholic.

The sixth chapter considers the state of public opinion at the beginning of the war, and lays special stress on the religious motives which played a part that has been strangely neglected by many historians. The heroic tradition tells us that the Revolution was a crusade for civil liberties. It neglects the fact that in many quarters the struggle was known as "the Presbyterian War." Father Metzger's narrative supplies a much-needed corrective here, in the final section of his book which deals with the setting of the conflict.

Five chapters discuss the actual participation of Catholics in the war. The author points out that they represented an infinitesimal fraction of the total colonial population, being some 25,000 out of 2,000,000 to 2,500,000. He warns against the fallacy of counting all Irish names as Catholic. The record of both Marylanders and Pennsylvanians was good. Despite the good reasons which they might have had for lack of enthusiasm for the rebellion, Catholics in both colonies contributed their proportionate share to the American forces, and a fair number, particularly in Pennsylvania, achieved high positions. Among the more cosmopolitan Pennsylvanians there were also a certain number of Tories, although the story of the Catholic Tory regiments in the British army is a rather pathetic one.

By way of conclusion Father Metzger recalls that intolerance towards Catholics was a dominant theme in American colonial history. This attitude was quickened by the passage of the Quebec Act and fostered by the religious motivation for rebellion felt in many quarters. Nevertheless, while some Catholics, especially in and around Philadelphia, sided with the crown, the vast majority of Catholic Americans cast their lot with the rebels. Their descendants have no apologies to make for their record.

James J. Hennesey, S.J.

FOR THE CONFESSOR

Confession and Pastoral Psychology. *By Andreas Snoeck, S.J.* Translated by Theodore Zuydwijk, S.J. Westminster: Newman Press, 1961. Pp. vi-183. $3.50.

In the dark confines of the confessional, the human soul is for a moment brought into confrontation with the profound reality of sin. That confrontation sometimes arouses powerful reactions of shame and guilt, as well as a host of other soul-searching emotions. Consequently the confessor is often presented with a situation in which he cannot avoid the strong emotional elements that dominate the confession. To a certain extent, this is applicable to every confession.

The psychology of the confessional remains relatively undeveloped, but Father Snoeck has made a considerable contribution by bringing into focus the interplay between the psychological, the theological, and the more strictly sacramental aspects of the sacrament of Penance. The structure of his consideration is provided by the Council of Trent, and within that framework he provides a fresh and meaningful insight into the nature of the sacrament and the function of the minister. There is much material in the consideration of the task of the confessor which would reward the mature reflection of every priest.

The latter half of the book is given over to an extensive analysis of the scrupulous penitent and his pastoral care. Here again there are many worthwhile insights, but the approach seems to be dominated by a conception of scrupulosity based on the ideas of Janet and earlier analytic attitudes toward obsessions. Although the whole matter of obsessive-compulsive behavior is subject to considerable dispute, there are still certain generally accepted points that can be made. Scrupulosity is an obsessive-compulsive trait. Such traits are not uncommon in normal persons and may in fact be highly prized, particularly where attention to detail and extraordinary dedication to a task are required. The difference between the normal and the abnormal is that the abnormal is unable to control and direct this element of his personality structure. Where the obsessive-compulsive trait is under control, we are more likely to regard the penitent as having a tender conscience; where it is not, we will likely regard him as scrupulous.

The neurotic compulsive suffers from a lack of mature definition of his own self-image. Consequently, the vague, the unstructured, the general, in whatever context they confront him, are a source of anxiety. He flees

the anxiety by immersing himself in the concrete, the particular and the detailed. Most of all, he flees the nuanced flexibility of relations with other people. It is easy to understand how such a person would tend to be driven to resolve the indecision and lack of objective determination that characterises the moral order. He seeks to reduce the flexibility of prudential judgment to clear-cut, mathematical norms—which is impossible.

One way of understanding this situation regards the compulsive as an essentially dependent person who was unable, or was not permitted, to achieve the secure independence of the mature person. If he is able to establish a relationship with another person in which the other person is cast in the role of a strong and independent figure upon whom the compulsive can lean for psychological support, then that relationship is in effect reinforcing the original defect upon which the scrupulous behavior rests. If the confessor accepts the responsibility for the scrupulous penitent's moral decisions and imposes on him strict obedience, as Father Snoeck suggests, the confessor is equivalently placing the penitent in a position of dependence. Such a maneuver may assuage the penitent's immediate anxiety, but it would seem to do so at the risk of impeding therapeutic progress as well as of limiting the confessor's effectiveness.

W. W. Meissner, S.J.

FRANCE AND THE CHURCH

Religious History of Modern France. *By Adrien Dansette.* Translated by John Dingle. New York: Herder and Herder, 1961. Pp. xi-363; xiv-467. $16.50.

On May 4, 1789 the three estates of France marched with their Most Christian king in solemn procession to invoke the blessing of God upon the newly opened Estates General. With this religious act—the final appearance in history of the power and wealth of the ancient Gallican Church—this account of the fate of religion in modern France begins. It is a tumultuous history, a series of controversies unmatched in the history of any other modern nation. On the central issue, whether the Church could adapt to the century or must bend the century to its traditional forms, the lines of battle were clearly drawn, but any detailed analysis is soon engulfed in the melee of ideas produced by the notoriously fecund and individualistic Gallic mind. Amid the welter of interacting and shifting issues, theological, moral, political, and social, Dansette retains firm control over his subject. It cannot be denied that he is partisan; nor is he sparing in his judgments. Yet disagreement does not exclude understanding, a faculty which he exercises so unreservedly that many readers brought up on the traditional Catholic demonology will be startled to find some of their classic villains credited with good intentions. In dealing with an inflammable subject Dansette is distinguished by the frankness and honesty of his approach.

In a brief review one can point out only a few of the many issues and events treated in such a wide-ranging work. The destruction of the old ecclesiastical structure in the revolutionary period and the failure of

the substitute constitutional church and the various enlightened cults are chronicled. After the Concordat development proceeded along two separate lines: firstly, the restoration of the ecclesiastical structure, recruitment of a new clergy and reorganization of institutions; secondly, the search for the proper role of the Church in the new society created by the Revolution. Progress in the first was steady but failure was the usual result of the solutions proposed to the latter problem. The more notable of these attempts, the ideas of La Mennais, the harmony of the early Second Republic, the *ralliement* of Leo XIII, and the opposition they encountered are all fully discussed. Dansette calls attention to the influence of events on the attitude of the social classes toward religion, the return to the Church of the aristocracy after the exile, of the middle classes after 1848, and of part of the intellectual elite in the early twentieth century, and the opposite current of de-Christianization among urban workers and peasants under the Third Republic. The Catholic response to the social problem from the first awakening in *Ere Nouvelle* to the work of Marc Sangnier is the subject of several chapters. Nor are changing trends in the devotional life of the faithful forgotten. The second *ralliement* of Pius XI and the condemnation of *Action Française* bring to a close the period of religious history dominated by the struggle of the Church with the nineteenth century, and at this point Dansette concludes his narrative. Developments among French Protestants are dealt with only summarily.

A reliable index has been provided but documentation and bibliography have been dispensed with. The absence of the latter is especially regrettable as so rich a subject will surely lead many readers to seek more information. The book has received a most readable translation and misprints are at a minimum. A few chronological errors, however, may cause confusion, such as assigning Darboy's commentary on the Syllabus to 1863 (I, 302) and the change in the formula of the investiture bulls by Pius X to 1902 (II, 211).

In a work of such scope the treatment of individual events and issues must, of course, be brief and Dansette was wise to attempt an analysis rather than a chronology. He has succeeded in providing the student with an excellent introduction to a broad and complicated subject and in furnishing the general reader with the means of understanding the contemporary religious scene in the light of its rich past.

FREDERICK J. O'BRIEN, S.J.

AN OUTSTANDING BOOK

Themes of the Bible. *By Jacques Guillet, S.J.* Translated by Albert J. LaMothe, Jr. Notre Dame: Fides Publishers Association, 1960. Pp. 279. $6.95.

The Old Testament milieu is so far removed from our times that even a competent translation limps in trying to convey to a reader of the twentieth century an adequate meaning of its words, phrases and themes. They are simply a world of their own. What is needed is a re-creation by scripture scholars of the Hebraic milieu to be used as a guide in the

reading of the Bible. Father Guillet's book is exactly this, and a successful one. In his Forward he calls his book "an attempt, rather than a finished work, to grasp through the history of a few words and a few images, the richness of the religion of Israel." This is a very modest appraisal of an outstanding contribution to the development of biblical theology.

Although the themes developed in the book do not cover the entire Bible they do represent a sizable cross-section. An enumeration of the chapter headings—Themes of the Exodus: The March through the Desert; Grace, Justice and Truth: The Basic Vocabulary; Grace, Justice and Truth: Evolution of the Vocabulary; Themes of Sin; Themes of Damnation; Themes of Hope; The Breath of Yahweh—shows that unity is not a predominant feature of the work. However, within each chapter the treatment is comprehensive without also being too erudite for any reader with only a little familiarity with the Bible. The two chapters on Grace, Justice and Truth are remarkably concise, considering the fact that they include the prophets' (Amos and Micheas, Osee, Isaias, Jeremias), the Psalms' and the New Testament's use of these words. Among other things, the two chapters stress the fact that "in the union of God and His people, Israel has nothing to offer to the husband who comes to take it. All its riches are but gifts. This is not yet grace in the sense of St. Paul, for the secret of the promised gift remains impossible even to guess at."

A short review cannot do justice to Father Guillet's book. Evidence of its solid scholarship and popularity is the fact that its French original has had three editions since 1952 and has also been translated into German and Italian; the English translation by Mr. LaMothe reads very well. Although the last two chapters, Themes of Hope and The Breath of Yahweh, are rather hard-going, still all the effort and time put into a reflective reading of *Themes of the Bible* are well spent. Especially do we say this of the last chapter, The Breath of Yahweh.

Jose V. Aquino, S.J.

A GUIDE TO THE BIBLE

Understanding the Bible. *By Ignatius Hunt, O.S.B.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962. Pp. xiv-207. $3.95.

If it is true that in the shadow of the great strides of Catholic scriptural scholarship some faithful Catholics have become suspicious and bewildered about "what is happening to the Bible," this small volume should allay their suspicions.

It can be recommended even to one who does not often study the scriptures; it assures him that the Bible has not changed, and neither has the Church's attitude toward it. Today, as always, the Bible is a sacred library of the inspired Word of God, written down by men to tell us God's plan of salvation and to lead us to heaven.

Although Father Hunt covers a great deal from Genesis to the Apocalypse, he takes nothing for granted: epistle means letter, the 13th century is the 1200's. He explains the common doctrine on inspiration,

skipping over fresher insights into its signifiance. He defines inerrancy, historicity, literary form. These are the familiar stepping stones to the Bible. Once there, Father Hunt samples recent interpretations of popular difficulties. He proposes that the first chapters of Genesis reflect the ideal relationship of man to God. The life spans of the patriarchs are a narrative device showing that in earlier times sin had less of a hold on men, for long life was God's blessing on good men. The sun incident in Joshua is probably no more than the recording of an hyperbolized story. Jonah and the whale is a clever satire on the narrowness of postexilic Judaism.

It is the meaning of historicity in the Bible that is the theme holding these twenty-seven chapters together. The longest chapter is devoted to the Qumran scrolls, an unhoped-for boon to Biblical scholars which, far from compromising the uniqueness of Christianity, underscores its remarkable superiority over other religions.

For a person who comes to the Bible with questions and difficulties, this guided tour is a helpful preliminary to understanding. It adequately clears away common prejudices: Biblical narratives move closer to the needs of man. And if it guides readers to the suggested readings, it will ultimately lead him to an understanding of the Bible itself.

Ralph W. Dengler, S. J.

BUBER AND CHRISTIANITY

Martin Buber and Christianity. *By Hans Urs von Balthasar.* Translated by Alexander Dru. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961. Pp. 127. $3.00.

In this short and stimulating dialogue with the great Jewish philosopher, Martin Buber, Dr. von Balthasar is at once sympathetic and critical. He credits Buber's profound insight into the meaning and mission of Israel, but debits his failure to see Christianity as the full flowering of that mission.

Ranging over a wide number of Buber's books that give his early and developed thought on Israel, von Balthasar extracts two principles that Buber holds as fundamental to Judaism: the Prophetic and the Sacramental.

For Buber the Jew is a prophet of the east at the secular court of the accomplished west. He represents charism as opposed to the dry institutionalism of the western technocratic state. The *polis* and religion are irreconcilable and Jewish thought has always sought a way out of the dilemma: this thrust marks the movement of Jewish thought from the naive utopianism of Marx to the sophisticated phenomenology of Scheler to the personalism of Buber himself. For Buber the ideal period of the Old Testament is that of the Judges and, for the modern Jew, postexilic messianism is a bad dream.

For Abraham and for Moses the root of hope was the promised land; for the prophets the root of religion was the Holy Land. It was a sacrament, a present grace, a gift from God that demanded all man's attention and care. Buber feels that the modern Jew must forsake the sheer

intellectuality that is his form of *déracinement* and once more return to the Land. The Land is a present sacrament, that is, there is no need to look to some vague future fulfillment; now is the day of the Lord. Von Balthasar notes that this tends to identify the natural with the supernatural in a way that degrades the latter if it elevates the former. The same sort of ideal sacramentalism is found in the vitalism of Bergson. It tends to make time eternal and ignores the development of Israel's history toward the Christ, Who transcended both the Land and the Temple, Who would rise beyond time to judge the men and the land. The utopian socialism of good men is not only not the answer to the human tragedy; it is beneath human destiny in Christ. For Buber Christianity is here hopelessly trapped by the eschatological-incarnational dilemma.

Jews and Christians are united by their common election by God. Israel will always be the holy root, but it will only find its future by being regrafted to the Gentile olive shoot. Israel's mission may well be to safeguard the natural order, but that mission is subordinate to bringing all things into Christ.

The book contains many flashes of brilliance that this review cannot capture. It is regrettable that the gems, and sometimes even the thread of discourse, are lost frequently in a too loose, rambling presentation. As a result it is sometimes impossible to distinguish the thought of Buber from the commentary of von Balthasar.

JOHN M. PHELAN, S.J.

RELIGIOUS VOCATIONS

Religious Vocation: An Unnecessary Mystery. *By Richard Butler, O.P.* Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1961. Pp. xiii-167. $4.00.

Father Butler's explanation of religious vocation begins with an analysis of the objective nature of vocation. Objectively speaking, all Christians are invited (by the antecedent will of God, prescinding from the concrete order) not merely to the practice of the counsels, but to their practice in religious life, as the better and safer means of realizing the universal Christian vocation to perfection. In the concrete order, however, it is a fact that God moves some and not others to accept this invitation, an acceptance which consists in an intense act of the virtue of religion. Whether a given individual is in fact being so moved by God is something to be determined indirectly, from the presence or absence of the classic signs—freedom from impediments, right intention, and suitability. But, insists Father Butler, this grace will be neither "rare" nor "extraordinary." Because the religious life is objectively the better and safer means for achieving perfection, religious vocation must be considered to be something normal to the economy of salvation and not something merely for the few.

It is hard to see how the reader who is not conversant with scholastic philosophy and theology will be able to follow, let alone control, Father Butler's analysis of the objective nature of vocation, conducted as it is in the rarified atmosphere of the Divine knowledge and will, and this

in starkly technical fashion. Moreover, there is a real danger, and one which is only intensified by one disproportionate amount of attention given to the universal objective invitation, that the average reader will fail to appreciate the true purport of an objective analysis of this kind. From the deceptive simplicities of objective analysis to personal conclusions in the concrete order, the step can be a short and not always prudent one.

Equally unfortunate is Father Butler's shift from an emphasis on the *qualitative normalcy* of vocation to an emphasis on *quantitative normalcy*. If there is any mystery to religious vocation, surely it lies precisely in this area of relative frequency of vocation. A respectful silence on the matter would have been much preferable to the constantly recurring insistence upon such undefined, relative—and therefore easily misleading—expressions as "not rare," "'not an exceptional grace reserved to a privileged few.'" This defect is only heightened by Father Butler's failure throughout a major part of the book to see discernment of vocation as a separate and legitimate problem in its own right, concern for which by no means implies adherence to attractionist theories of vocation. It is these two themes—the *quantitative normalcy* of vocation and the *facility of discernment* of vocation—which seem to emerge as Father Butler's real message. And it is this message which seems to account for the contrast he is at pains to establish between the "modern" approach to vocation and the "traditional" approach of the early Church and St. Thomas.

To establish this contrast Father Butler turns first to "the primary source of early Christian history," Acts 5:32-35 [sic], from which he concludes that "what is noteworthy is that the primitive Christian observed the evangelical counsels as a matter of course, with a responsibility gravely binding and accepted. . . . Surely no one of these first followers of Christ hesitated over the stumbling block of religious vocation, wondering whether they were called to observe the counsels or not." Such a view is apparently unconcerned by the fact that Acts gives no indication that the practice of the other two counsels was similarly widespread even in the Jerusalem community, or by the absence of even a community of goods in the presumably equally primitive Pauline communities. It also overlooks the indications in I Corinthians 7:1-38 that the decision to practice the counsels was no more "a matter of course" for the primitive Christian than it is for the Christian today.

St. Thomas is also claimed to have held this "traditional" view with which the "modern" approach is supposed to conflict: "The insinuation of the moderns that one should subject himself to deep self-analysis (even the canned psychoanalysis of prepared tests today) [sic], and prolonged deliberation over whether or not one has 'the call,' represents a definite departure from the sound teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas that no one should delay, or even deliberate over, a simple resolve to enter religious life. In fact, he says, don't seek advice except from those who will encourage you!" To present these views thus stripped of the precise purport with which they were originally proposed in a definite polemical

context by St. Thomas is a distortion. In particular, Father Butler has failed to keep in mind that, whereas throughout his writings on the religious life St. Thomas presupposes that the case is one in which the individual, under the impetus of grace, has already made a genuine *propositum religionis*, contemporary writers on vocation quite legitimately have moved the question back a step further and have focused their attention upon the question of how we are to determine whether or not in any given case a genuine *propositum religionis* has in fact been made. Certainly the directives of the Holy See in the past decade, with their insistence upon a careful screening of religious candidates, have amply justified this contemporary concern.

It should be added that, useful though a study of the implications inherent in current vocation semantics would be, these same directives made Father Butler's lengthy attempt to establish the illegitimacy of the term "religious vocation" obsolete before it was ever written.

To the extent that it offers little of diagnostic value, is likely to overawe the uninitiated and mislead the impressionable, this work, for all its good intentions, cannot be recommended with any enthusiasm to vocational counsellors or candidates. JAMES G. MCCANN, S.J.

A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION

Freedom, Grace, and Destiny. *By Romano Guardini.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1961. Pp. 251. $4.00.

In this work Monsignor Guardini presents his analysis of the three basic themes of Christian existence. His approach is concrete, analytic, and existential. By this methodology he hopes to offset a division which has divided post-Thomistic thinking into specialized categories. He feels that philosophy today has exhausted this approach and should return to a synthetic spirit as exemplified in the Christian wisdom of Augustine and Thomas.

With this as a prologue he goes on to examine three basic themes of a total Christian life. Each essay is highly personal and highly condensed, and for that reason each has a wealth of suggestive insights. He first begins with an analysis of man's experience (a phenomenology) followed by an interpretation made in the light of philosophy and theology.

In his essay on freedom he explores man's unique position as the being capable of responsible action, action which involves an intelligent response and responsibility. We find a concrete analysis or a phenomenology of freedom described, rather than a scholastic analysis of its causality. Especially interesting are his brief remarks on artistic or creative freedom.

The second essay is on grace, especially as it is related to human freedom as presented in the first essay. The third treats the last key theme which structures Christian existence: destiny. Here again the essay is suggestive and condensed, as for example, his treatment of destiny as it is related to the psychologists' idea of man's *Unwelt* (the individual's personal milieu) and the surrounding cosmos.

As far as we know this is the first translation of one of Guardini's

strictly philosophical works. We can only hope that other works of his, like *Versuch einer Philosophie des Lebendig-Konkreten, Welt und Person,* and especially his work on the religious thought of Dostoyevsky, find a translator to make this side of his versatile personality better known to English-speaking readers.

GERARD F. WALDORF, S.J.

THE PSALMS

Herder's Commentary on the Psalms. *Edited by Edmund Kalt.* Translated by Bernard Fritz, O.S.B. Westminster: Newman Press, 1961. Pp. 559. $6.75.

Father Fritz, of Assumption Abbey, North Dakota, has provided a readable translation of Herder's standard, though somewhat dated (1935), devotional commentary on the Psalms. The original editor and authors set themselves the task of "emphasizing the supernatural and the divine in the psalms and making them fruitful for the Christian life." This goal has been accomplished well in the general introduction and individual commentaries, so that the Psalms, illuminated and complemented by the New Testament, emerge as truly Christian prayers.

Regrettably, the English text used is that of the Douay version, though in a number of places, e.g. Ps 67:24, it is clear that the original German commentary was directed to a better vernacular translation.

The book fills a lacuna in American devotional literature and will prove useful for sermon material and meditative reading. There is a short topical index, mostly listing Christian ascetical references.

FREDERICK A. HOMANN, S.J.

STUDIES AND UNION WITH GOD

The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, A study of Monastic Culture. *By Dom Jean Leclercq, O.S.B.* Translated by Catherine Misrahi. New York: Fordham University Press, 1960. Pp. x-415. $5.50.

The problem of the place of human learning in a life consecrated to achieving union with God is a perennial one. It is something of a surprise, perhaps, to learn that this problem arose even in the contemplative milieu of medieval Benedictine monasticism. Why it arose and how medieval Benedictinism maintained the balance between studies and the contemplative vocation have been examined by Dom Leclercq, whose life's work has centered on the culture and spirituality of medieval monasticism. This resulting volume has been properly characterized as a "splendid synthesis of monastic civilization."

Members of contemporary apostolic congregations—in which the "problem of studies" is of a different nature than it was for medieval Benedictinism—will find Dom Leclercq's work perhaps of greatest value as a study of a spiritual civilization. For in the course of exposing the sources and achievements of this civilization Dom Leclercq also presents us with a fine introduction to the great themes of medieval monastic spirituality and to the literary genres through which these themes received expression. And to whatever extent the spirituality of con-

temporary apostolic congregations is tributary to monastic spirituality, such an introduction is a thing of no small value.

Certainly relevant for any contemporary religious community is the conviction out of which Dom Leclercq's re-creation of medieval monastic civilization has sprung—the conviction that "if the great ideas of the past are to remain young and vital, each generation must, in turn, think them through and rediscover them in their pristine newness."

JAMES G. MCCANN, S.J.

REFERENCE BOOK

Dogma for the Layman. *By Thomas J. Higgins, S.J.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1961. Pp. v-218. $3.95.

Because of the increased interest in Catholic belief among educated men in this country, Father Higgins prepared this book for the serious reader who wants more than just a catechism knowledge of the Faith. He makes no pretensions that he is writing a definitive or grandiose work, but he does here present a summary of the theological synthesis in seven clear, uncluttered and smoothly-flowing chapters. Each point of dogma is unfolded, the sources of the doctrine are pointed out ("Denzinger" is explained in the introduction and references are then made to it throughout), the historical context is mentioned when necessary, and the opinions of theologians are noted. A clear distinction is always made between what is defined and what is merely the opinion of theologians. Scripture is used judiciously, and not so much as strict proofs of dogmas as illustrations in inspired language of the pronouncements of the Church. All these definitions, scriptural texts and theological reasonings are neatly worked into a very polished, readable work. In no place is there the sharp cutting of polemic or controversy, but always the direct expanation and exposition of the dogmas of the Church.

Dogma for the Layman is not a work for the expert who is looking for new syntheses and speculation; nor is it for the layman who is uneducated in his Faith. But for the intelligent Catholic or non-Catholic it is a book which will shed great light on the truths of Catholicism. A place should be reserved for it on the reference shelf of any college theology class and also in the library of any educated man who wants a solid, sane and sober summary of the dogmas of the Church. As a quick reference book on any subject in Catholic theology it is hard to beat.

JAMES H. BREININGER, S.J.

ACTION IN WORSHIP

The Whole Man at Worship. *By Hélène Lubienska de Lenval.* Translated by Rachel Attwater. New York: Descles Co., 1961. Pp. 86. $1.95.

This brief work is a translation of *La Liturgie du Geste* by Mrs. Lubienska de Lenval who as a disciple of Maria Montessori has continued and improved the latter's pedagogical discoveries. It is an exploratory effort to deepen personal piety by restoring the natural prayer-function to the liturgical actions of the body.

Along with Saint Benedict the author considers "the liturgy according

to its origins, as the 'work of God', a divine invasion of human life and the liturgical action as the quickening of man by the hand of God," so that the liturgy of action will signify the visible signs of the invisible Presence (p. 10).

In light of this broad definition of liturgical action she considers the liturgical actions of Christ and the liturgical actions in the Old Testament. Then, drawing on a great variety of religious rites, she exemplifies the meaning of some concrete liturgical actions. The final chapter of the book deals with the unity of mind and bodily action which is required for totally human worship.

Although she presents interesting insights revealing the meaning of the concrete, human actions of Christ and of some liturgical actions of the Old Testament, at times she seems to hold a fundamentalist view of Scripture. And as is evident from the brevity of the book, her treatment is incomplete. This often results in unproven generalizations.

Nevertheless these essays are worth reading for the simple reason that they expose us to the problem of the relationship of body and mind in liturgical prayer and point to many sources which must be considered in clarifying and answering this question. Since men do express themselves by action as well as by word, the question of the meaningfulness and the naturalness of liturgical action must be asked. These brief pages will focus our attention on the complex problems of solving the present confusion.

ROBERT J. HEYER, S.J.

A STUDY OF SYMBOLISM

Images and Symbols. *By Mircea Eliade.* Translated by Philip Mairet. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961. Pp. 189. $3.50.

This translation, nine years after the original French edition, of Eliade's *Images et Symboles* attests the growing popularity of his work. It is the sixth major work of Eliade to appear in English. It is itself a resume of certain of his writings prior to 1952. He describes the contemporary rediscovery of symbols, of their function and importance. The science which is best capable of examining religious symbols, Eliade calls the History of Religions. The term is open to some confusion: the historian of religions must not only be concerned with scholarly monographs on individual religions; he must also look for the modalities of being represented by certain symbols common to many religions. A symbol has a cluster of meanings which form a discernable pattern. Subsequent chapters examine some of these patterns.

Thus, the symbolism of the centre (the World Axis, the Cosmic Tree, the mountain, temple or house) represents man's abhorrence of disintegration, his desire for immortality; it points toward an absolute reality toward which he strives. Eliade's study of Indian symbolism of Time and Eternity leads him to conclude, "The myth takes man out of his own time—his individual, chronological, 'historic' time—and projects him, symbolically at least, into the Great Time, into a paradoxical instant which cannot be measured because it does not consist of duration." Time-myths are instruments of knowledge; they make men aware of the

unreality of what is passing. Eliade's third symbolism is that of knots (the 'God who binds'). While he maintains that there is an uniform religious significance to the symbolism of knots, namely, the desire of all men to be free of his situation of finite bondage, nevertheless Eliade is hard put to square this theory with the full morphology of binding-myths which he describes. He admits this difficulty and traces it to the fact that pure archetypes or patterns are often obscured because of the particular historical 'realisations' or 'activations' in which they are found. The chapter on the symbolism of shells (pearls, oysters, snails) is more successful in showing that these objects symbolize the power of life, its fertility, its transcendent aspect.

Eliade's final chapter treats of aquatic symbolism, with particular reference to Christian Baptism. This leads to an analysis of the special role of Christianity in the History of Religions: Christianity has a structure similar to the symbolic archetypes; yet it does not emphasize the archetype, but stresses the privileged intervention of the divine Power in history. Thus, the historical event as such (and not merely as an 'occasion') becomes an hierophany.

The immense erudition of this book cannot be summarized here; nor can Eliade's frequent remarks on method. His language at times seems to obscure the distinction between a temporal sequence and a mode of being, between a mode of being and a mode of knowledge. At any rate, the question of method remains the crux in his attempt to organize the vast data of religious symbols into meaningful and convincing patterns.

GEORGE C. MCCAULEY, S.J.

ASCETICAL SEMINAR

Problems in Jesuit Asceticism. Alma: Alma College, 1961. Pp. 202. $2.00.

This is a compilation of the second group meeting on Jesuit spirituality held at Alma College. It stems from a seminar of theologians and priests under the direction of Father Joseph Wall. Six different papers were read at this seminar and each was followed by three commentators, then by discussion and questions from the floor. All this is reproduced here in the mimeographed proceedings.

The papers dealt with: 1) The Value of Obedience in an Apostolic Order, 2) The Degrees of Obedience, 3) The Practice of Obedience, 4) The Moral Structure of Obedience, 5) Criticism and Obedience, 6) Psychology and Obedience.

This interchange of ideas between scholastics and priests has an openness and vitality that is probably not possible in any written treatise on the subject. Specific problems are clarified and diversity of opinion is honestly recognized and met. That this group-discussion approach to common problems of Jesuit spirituality is alive and interesting seems proved by the fact that this second session arose from questions raised in the first seminar in 1960, which dealt with general problems of Jesuit asceticism. It is only hoped that these two sessions are followed by others, and that the idea itself spreads to other houses of the Society.

GERARD F. WALDORF, S.J.

RELIGIOUS AND MENTAL ILLNESS

Mental Illness and the Religious Life. *By Richard P. Vaughan, S.J.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1962. Pp. xiv-198. $4.00.

Father Vaughan's little book is a welcome addition to the expanding literature dealing with psychological problems of religious life. His objective is conservative, namely, to make religious, and especially religious superiors, aware of the patterns of disturbance which can manifest themselves in religious life. The objective is accomplished in a clear and easy style, which is accurate without becoming technical.

The substance of the book consists of a descriptive catalogue of mental illnesses with special attention to symptoms as they manifest themselves in religious life. This approach can be useful and informative for the intended audience, but the prospective reader should not look for much in the line of understanding the dynamics of such abnormal behavior. There are many points which are well made, but no reader should mistake Father Vaughan's clear statement of them as exhausting the complexity of the problems on which they touch.

The basic message of this book deserves warm applause and recommendation: the reluctance of many religious to seek psychiatric help when it is needed must yield to the more prudent course of taking the necessary means. If Father Vaughan's work brings about a sensitivity to the problem of mental illness and a realization that psychiatry in many cases offers not only the best, but the only, solution, his effort will have been well rewarded.

W. W. Meissner, S.J.

SALVATION AND THE CHURCH

The Wide World, My Parish. *By Yves Congar, O.P.* Translated by Donald Attwater. Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1961. Pp. xi-188. $4.50.

In this admirable little book Father Congar gathers many reflections that touch in one way or another upon the idea of Salvation. The Church is considered as the first-fruits of an objective salvation already achieved; she is the leaven, the seed-force, the part standing for the whole world. St. Augustine's understanding of freedom (for and from, *ad* and *ab*) is applied to the meaning of salvation. The last things are discussed in relation to salvation: Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, the Resurrection of the Body. Some sixty pages are devoted to an examination of the dictum in ecclesiology, *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. These discussions bring to the surface several profound problems which the author approaches with wisdom and optimism: What of the unbaptized who die before the dawn of reason? Is our broadening knowledge of psychology forcing us to conclude that man has not the freedom to attain salvation? How does our universe figure in the world to come?

This book is an effort to substitute the theological for the imaginative, especially with regard to the last things, which lend themselves so readily to flights of fancy. Certainly retreat masters can profit much from a reading of this work; so can all those who would add to their own understanding of *De Novissimis* and *De Ecclesia* the warm, broadening

reflections of a great theologian. Perhaps it is the fact that the book originally appeared as a series of articles that explains some needless repetition of ideas.

EUGENE J. BARBER, S.J.

A CONTROVERSIAL THEORY

The Just Wage. *By Michael Fogarty.* London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1961. Pp. 309. 30/- net.

As far back as 1955, Michael Fogarty, Professor of Industrial Relations in the University of Wales, had published his ideas on a wage plan involving family allowances. A controversy on this challenge to the more usual interpretation of the scholastic wage theory was carried on in the pages of *Social Order* from 1955 through 1958. Those acquainted with the problem will welcome Professor Fogarty's *The Just Wage.*

Situating the discussion in the context of present British wages, the basic principles of a just wage system (equal and maximum pay for equal ability, status maintenance) are discussed in Part I, with the application of these principles discussed in Part II. Despite the constant reference to the British system, American readers will find valuable material in these chapters. The discussions of fringe benefits, co-responsibility, the source and management of welfare plans, and the concept of a family living wage are very pertinent to the American scene of advancing welfare programs. Of particular interest is the author's presentation of the ideal welfare state as an educational state (zealously honoring the principle of subsidiarity) as opposed to what is termed an executive state.

The chapter on the family living wage is very concrete, spelling out the author's family allowance plan in dollars and cents as well as in pounds and shillings. An honest understanding of this chapter may well shake the almost dogmatic certainty sometimes claimed for the more usual interpretation of the family wage according to scholastic theory. Throughout the book Professor Fogarty tries to bring the wage theory "from cloud-cuckoo-land into the realm of practical possibility" without sacrificing principles. His effort is enjoyable, penetrating, and extremely worthwhile.

THOMAS H. O'GORMAN, S.J.

THE CHURCH'S SOCIAL MIND

The Church and Social Justice. *Jean-Yves Calvez, S.J. and Jacques Perrin, S.J.* Translated by J. R. Kirwan. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1961. Pp. 466. $7.50.

Fathers Calvez and Perrin have done Catholics a great service by synthesizing in one book the social teachings of the Popes over the past eighty years. This work is particularly valuable for the access it gives to the statements of Pius XII on the social question that are found in the many speeches and letters of the nineteen years of his pontificate.

The first chapter presents a justification of the Church's intervention in the social question. The authors then go on to show that revelation—not philosophy—is the source of the Church's teachings even on the social

question. The core of the book begins with the chapter on the relationship between the person and society: it is only through being part of society that man can reach his full development. A treatment of justice follows, which is at once eminently profound and eminently practical. Social justice is "the general norm of the life of the entire social body . . ." (p. 151). The relation between justice and charity is then taken up.

In the following chapters the authors examine the foundations of economic society, the socio-economic forms (the market, the enterprise, and the relationship between national and international economies), the role of the state in the development of the economy, and the role that the Church has played in trying to eliminate class conflict. In the concluding chapters the question of trade unionism and the Church's plan for society are discussed.

What is perhaps most significant in the book is the authors' constant effort not merely to repeat the words of the various pontiffs, but to penetrate and analyze the meaning of these words. They succeed very well in this, although in striving for a deeper understanding of the Church's position on some questions, they occasionally attribute a somewhat overly technical meaning to the words of the Popes.

Father John Cronin, S.S., writes that "as a deep discussion of Catholic social principles, (this book) could be used in Theological seminaries and our graduate schools of economics." We might add that it can also be used by high school and college teachers who want to give their students an understanding and love of the Church's teachings on these questions in a somewhat more simplified form.

H. Paul Le Maire, S.J.

ETHICS IN MODERN AMERICA

Modern Ethical Theories. *By James V. McGlynn, S.J., and Jules J. Toner, S.J.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1962. Pp. 167. $4.00 (cloth); $2.25 (paper).

An outgrowth of the authors' classroom lectures at the University of Detroit, this book presents in summary fashion the fundamentals of those theories of general ethics which dominate the American scene. An introductory chapter discusses the data and problems which give rise to any such ethical system and suggests the relations a viable ethics has with other philosophical problems. The next three chapters provide historical perspective with discussions of some classical systems: the Moral Sense School of Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, and Hume, the Ethical Formalism of Kant, and the Utilitarianism of Bentham and J. S. Mill. They are accurate in proportion to their brevity (fifteen pages being the average) and well organized. Contemporary ethicians of influence are represented in chapters on Naturalism (Dewey), Analytical Philosophy (C. E. Moore, A. J. Ayer, C. L. Stevenson), Existentialism (Sartre, de Beauvoir) and Psychoanalysis (Freud, Fromm). Succinct evaluations close each chapter. In keeping with the scope of the book there is no mention made, for example, of the phenomenological ethics of Scheler and von Hildebrand. A concluding chapter sketches the authors' ideas of how

the basis of an ethics should be structured, and, not surprisingly, we get the fundamentals of Thomistic doctrine.

These essays focus attention on the critical problems of philosophical ethics and provide a useful starting point for discussion and reading in the undergraduate classroom. Admittedly they are no substitute for reading the original philosophers or even the standard commentaries, but they will encourage and prepare the student for these more ambitious tasks.

It would, incidentally, be a splendid contribution to the current philosophical enterprise if Fathers McGlynn and Toner were to continue the work they have begun and do for ethics what James Collins did for natural theology with his monograph *God in Modern Philosophy*. In any case the present book is a useful addition to pedagogic literature. It has both a topical and nominal index, and the footnote citations of original sources give indications for wider reading.

FREDERICK A. HOMANN, S.J.

TOWARDS A SENSE OF COMMUNITY

Prayers for Meditation. *By Hugo Rahner and Karl Rahner.* New York: Herder and Herder, 1962. Pp. 71. $1.75.

As the foreword indicates, the purpose of this little book is to renew the sense of community worship during the time of retreat. The prayers contained in this volume follow the outline of the Spiritual Exercises; their content and spirit seem to respond very well to Father General's encouragement (in his recent letter on the liturgy) that our use of the Exercises be "illuminated and permeated by the liturgical life of the Church."

The retreatant (and retreat director) who is seeking to approach the Exercises from a more sacramental point of view will find much food for his thought and prayer here. Emphasis is placed upon the Eucharist as the center of our life in the community of the Church. The prayer on "The Imitation of Christ" is notable for its insistence on our inner union with Christ as the key to such imitation; meditation on this prayer would be a helpful antidote to a more externalistic interpretation of the exercises of the Second Week. Though the use of this book need not be confined to a retreat, this renowned brother-Jesuit team has made a rich contribution to our understanding of and cooperation with the work of the Spiritual Exercises in the building of the Body of Christ.

JOHN GALLEN, S.J.

SCREENING AND TRAINING

Selection and Incorporation of Candidates for the Religious Life. *By Basil Frison, C.M.F., J.C.D.* Milwaukee: Bruce, 1962. Pp. xi-186. $5.75.

Father Frison's book is primarily a juridical commentary on articles 31-34 of the General Statutes of the Sacred Congregation of Religious approved by the Apostolic Constitution *Sedes Sapientiae*, a doctrinal and disciplinary instruction issued on May 31, 1956 and concerned with the

training of the religious clergy. Articles 31-34 deal with fostering vocations to the clerical religious state, the examination of candidates, and their admission to the noviceship, vows, and orders. Father Frison gives special attention to certitude about chastity and the utility of psychological testing. To interpret the norms of *Sedes Sapientiae*, frequent reference is made to more recent documents of the Holy See, especially the private Instruction *Religiosorum Institutio* addressed to religious superiors by the Sacred Congregation of Religious on Feb. 2, 1961. Father Frison's statements are also heavily documented by references to the writings of canonists and moralists which are listed in his ten-page, multilingual bibliography.

Although religious clergy are the direct subjects of *Sedes Sapientiae*, many of its norms can be applied to the diocesan clergy and to lay religious. In addition to the present work, the author plans to publish a separate commentary on each of the titles of the General Statutes of *Sedes Sapientiae*.

Louis E. Niznik, S.J.

A LITURGICAL APPROACH

Towards the Center of Christian Living. *By Johannes Pinsk.* New York: Herder and Herder, 1961. Pp. 262. $4.50.

The decisive event in Sacred History and therefore of the Christian message and life is Christ's death-resurrection. Ultimately it is the Paschal Mystery that gives meaning to the Christian faith. And in the present it is the ever-deepening insertion into this mystery that is the source of all Christian growth. In this book Dr. Pinsk, a distinguished theologian and liturgical scholar, presents a fuller appreciation of this centrality of the Paschal Mystery as the source and essence of the whole Christian life.

He first considers the meaning of the Lord's death-resurrection as the source of the Christian's new life and as the continuing fact in the Church to which he is called to give witness. Next, by relating them to the central mystery of the resurrection Pinsk throws light on the inner meaning of the other mysteries of Christ's life as presented by the Church in her liturgical year: Pentecost, Advent, Incarnation, Epiphany, the Mystery of the Cross. By centering these in Christ's resurrection the unity and relevance of these mysteries as celebrated by the Church are made evident.

The last three chapters focus on some apparent difficulties. In a long chapter entitled "Problems of a Christian" the author offers a clear and enlightening explanation of five problems basic to Christian spirituality: 1) objective versus subjective piety, 2) the apparent conflict between individual and communal worship, 3) the necessary relation of the sacred and the secular, 4) Christian morality versus moralism, and 5) the true meaning of liturgy. Again each question is considered from the center of Christian existence, the resurrection of Christ. The final chapter is an excellent development of the notion of Christian freedom in the light of the resurrection.

This book is a fine, integrated development of the essential Christian spiritual life. Ours should find it interesting and filled with new insights into the fulness of life in Christ.

ROBERT J. HEYER, S.J.

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AMONG OUR REVIEWERS

Father Joseph A. Fitzmyer (Maryland Province) teaches the New Testament at Woodstock College, Maryland.

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